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ДРОГ И ЕД А .

THE
HISTORY OF DROGHEDA,
WITH ITS ENVIRONS;
AND
AN INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR
OF THE
DUBLIN AND DROGHEDA RAILWAY.

BY
JOHN D'ALTON, Esq.,
BARRISTER AT LAW,
AUTHOR OF THE "ESSAY ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY, ETC. OF IRELAND,"
"HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF DUBLIN," "MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN," ETC. ETC. ETC.

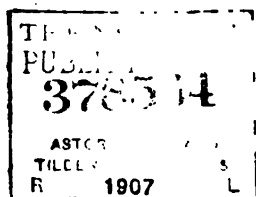
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HISTORY OF DROGHEDA,

&c. &c.

THE origin of this venerable town must, in its extreme antiquity, be referred to a period far beyond the ordinary eras of historic certainty ; as early as the discovery of the haven and the river on whose shores it stands, and on which its civil and commercial advantages have for centuries depended, this locality is projected in the Annals of Ireland ; although its name of Drogheda has been considered of much later assumption.

From the concurrent testimony of bardic legends, which are ever the first heralds of history, it may be gathered, that, on the early occupation of Ireland by the Firbolgs under the command of five leaders, and its consequent quinquartite division into districts, whose relative extent is shown in Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Upper and Lower Munster, alias Thomond and Desmond, the site of Drogheda was defined as the eastern boundary between the two former provinces, while in a subsequent moiety

partition of the island, this place was again recognized as the eastern limit, and Limerick as the western—all north of that line being assigned to one prince,—all south to another. In succeeding centuries, Heremon, the descendant of the Spanish adventurer, Milesius, when with his followers he visited this distant isle of the Atlantic, debarked here, at the Meath side of the river, on which occasion his brother Colpa, having been drowned in attempting a landing nearer its mouth, gave his name to the haven Inver-Colpa, as well as to the point where he proposed to land, still known by the name of "Colpe." "Heber," or "Hiber," another brother of Heremon, from whom Ireland is by some supposed to derive its name of Hibernia, at the same time invaded Ireland, according to the Book of Lecan, at Inver-Sceine, being the mouth of the Shannon, whence he proceeded to Slieve Mis, a mountain situated in the county Kerry between the bays of Castlemaine and Tralee, where, having defeated in battle the Tuatha de Danans, who had wrested the possession of the island from the abovementioned Firbolgs, he next marched to Slieve Eavlin, in the county Cork, where he does not appear to have been opposed; thence to the hill of Usneach, in the county Westmeath, where yet no resistance was encountered. His next progress was towards Tara, near which he effected a junction with Heremon from Drogheda, when both marched with all their forces against the King of the Danans, who, it is recorded, opposed them with the troops of the

Magi, or Druids; “*cona sluagaibh Druidhechta*,” as it is written in the obsolete style of the record. The last word might seem to assign an origin for the name of Drogheda much earlier, and very different from that hitherto popularly assigned to it, and the surmise derives confirmation from the fact hereafter particularly shown, that the northern bank of the Boyne, from Drogheda to Slane, was the most venerated scene of that eastern form of worship, which the Tuath de Danans had introduced into this country. In this battle the new invaders were so signally victorious, that they seized upon the government, and without further opposition ruled the country between them, Heremon having all north—Heber all south of the Boyne, or, as the boundary is defined in the ancient metrical narrative :

“ From the rich vale, where in delightful stream,
The Boyne, the darling of the ocean flows.”

From those who require certainty in history, credence cannot be expected as to events of legendary tradition; but the author of these pages, in his “*Essay on the Ancient History of Ireland*” (which obtained the “*Cunningham Gold Medal*,” and the largest pecuniary prize ever given by the Royal Irish Academy, in the sixteenth volume of whose *Transactions* it is exclusively printed), having detailed at considerable length the evidences of the above early colonization, declines occupying space here with their repetition. The concurring force of external testimonies, not merely those of British, even that

of Giraldus Cambrensis, but Phœnician, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, Spanish, and Portuguese, with Oriental and Rabinal traditions, confirm the native annalists, as far as could be reasonably expected; while it is a curious evidence of the long conceded and general belief therein, that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, this invasion of Ireland is most gravely recited in an Act of Parliament (11 Eliz. Sess. 3, c. 1), but with the politic addition, that the wanderers did not make the attempt until sanctioned by the license of the British King, and which was, therefore, in that Act advanced as one of the grounds of the Queen's immemorial title to Ireland. The passage is as follows: "Another title is, that at the same time that Irishmen came out of Biscay as exiled persons, in sixty ships, they met with the same King Gurmond, upon the sea at the isles of Orcades, then coming from Denmark with great victory; their captains, called Heberus and Heremon, went to this king, and him told the cause of their coming out of Biscay, and him prayed with great instance that he would grant unto them that they might inhabit some land in the West. The King at the last, by advice of his Council, granted them Ireland to inhabit, and assigned unto them guides for the sea to bring them thither, and therefore they should and ought to be the King of England's men." The same bardic legends, that record the arrival of these two brothers and their partition of the kingdom, state that they cast lots which should have the poet, and which the

harper that accompanied them from Spain, when the chance gave the harper to Heber, and the poet to Heremon, on which account, say they, the Southerns excel in music, and the Northerns in poetry, to this day. The incident is also recorded in an Irish poem yet extant.

The bard here alluded to, as won by Heremon, was Amergin the elder, by some stated to be his brother, and to whom is attributed a short poem, composed upon his setting his foot on shore at Inver-Colpa, which is preserved in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, and in the Book of Invasions. This warrior bard fell in battle in Meath, and is supposed to have been here buried on the southern shore of the river Boyne, where, according to the fashion of the time, the funeral pile, now known as the Mill-Mount, was then elevated over his body, with rites as imposing as the attributes referred to him in life could have commanded, for the power of the bards in Pagan times was considered supernatural, whence it is stated in the Book of Ballymote (f. 77), "that a bard, whose only son had been killed in battle by the Lagenians, having continued for a full year after to satirize that people, brought fatalities upon them, so that 'neither corn, grass, nor foliage grew for them during that year;'" a repute that continued to them to remoter regions and times, by reason of which Reginald Scot, in his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, states, "the Irishmen will not stick to affirm that they can *rime* either man or beast to death."

Drogheda, after the lapse of some centuries, is in legend sadly associated with one of the most illustrious of Ireland's Kings, pre-eminently styled Hugony the Great, the lineal descendant of the before-mentioned Heremon, and married to a daughter of France. He held the government of Ireland for thirty years, during which interval it is recorded of him, that he not only compelled the Picts to pay certain tribute reserved by his royal predecessors, but also enlarged his dominions beyond the former bounds, into some of the islands of the Irish Sea, whereby he acquired the appellation amongst the bards of "Monarch of Ireland and Albany, and of all the Western Isles of Europe." Not content with these foreign acquisitions, he re-assembled that long suspended native convention of the wise men and petty princes called the Fes of Tara. He also modified the Pentarchical Government, which had prevailed in Ireland from the time of the Firbolgs, and required all the rulers and chiefs of the provinces to bind themselves by a solemn oath of allegiance to him and his posterity, in exclusion of the other lines of the Milesian race. The form of oath, "by the Sun and Moon, and Elements," is still preserved in a Manuscript in the Stowe collection. In the thirtieth year of his reign he is said to have been assassinated here by his own brother, who thereupon assumed the government, but the son of Hugony, within six days revenged his father's murder, and succeeded to the kingdom.

The reign of Conary, the thirtieth in royal succes-

sion after Hugony, is that which in the History of Ireland is consecrated, by synchronizing with the birth of our Saviour, as well as by being the longest and most abundant in the annals of the country. On the occasion of this joyous interval, it is particularly recorded, that the mouth of the Boyne so teemed with fish, that they were cast up from the deep upon the beach. The advantages of trade followed close upon the blessings of peace and plenty; and hence, Tacitus, in his *Life of Agricola*, mentions that the channels and harbours of Ireland were better known to commerce and to merchants, than those of Britain. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Inver-Colpa was one of the harbours thus early distinguished, and the surmise acquires considerable confirmation from the accuracy with which the Boyne (Buvinda) is marked in the geography of the Egyptian philosopher, Ptolemy, at the close of the second century, and who himself attributes all his knowledge on the subject to merchants frequenting this island; while Marcianus Heracleota, in his *Periplus*, written shortly afterwards, notices sixteen tribes, and eleven cities or good towns, as then reported to exist in Ireland.

It may be here added, in further evidence of Ireland's high claims to ancient commemoration, that many eminent scholars consider a great part of the scenery of the *Odyssey* is laid in the Atlantic, and Plutarch pronounces an opinion as to the island of Calypso, that it lay within five days' sail (in the navigation of these times), to the west of Britain. "Nor can

any one," says Camden, while he applies the obvious reference to Ireland, "easily conceive why they should call it Ogygia, unless perhaps from its antiquity, for the Greeks called nothing Ogygia unless what was extremely ancient." The author of the "*Argonautica*," who flourished at least five centuries before the Christian era, in the imaginary route which he prescribes for Jason and his fleet, particularly designates, as on his course, the island of Ireland (*Iernis*), describing its woody surface, its misty atmosphere, &c., while it is not a little remarkable, that England is in no manner named in this venerable record of Grecian literature, although, undoubtedly, had it too been then so well known, it would have appeared in the poetic chart of an author, whose sole object was therein to display the geographical learning of the age in which he lived. The next notice in chronological order, occurs in the work "*De Mundo*," attributed to Aristotle, and which, if not written by him, must have been the composition of a contemporary, as it is dedicated to Alexander the Great. In this authentic evidence, the two islands of Great Britain and Ireland are alike brought into notice, under the names of Albion and Ierne.

Of paramount interest, however, to all these, is the passage in the "*Iambics of Festus Avienus de Oris Maritimis*," in which he affects to transcribe in the fourth century, as from personal collation with the oldest Runic Annals, an account of a voyage of discovery which, when Carthage was in the pleni-

tude of her power, Himilco, one of her citizens, was directed to make to the extreme parts of Europe. In this record Himilco is stated to have fixed the distance of Ireland as two days' sail from the Cassiterides, or Scilly isles; that it was even then long known to "the ancients" by the style of "the Sacred Island;" "that in the midst of its waves it cast up much turfy matter; that the nation of the Hiberni inhabit it extensively; and that near it the island of the Albions extends itself." The epithet here given to this isle of the West, it is remarkable, was applied also especially to that island of Samothrace in the *Ægean* sea, which is generally supposed to have been peopled by colonies of the Pelasgians, Samians and Phœnicians, who had established the Cabiric mysteries there; and a remark of Strabo, given also as an ancient tradition, completes the force of that epithet of "the sacred island," which may be said to have been afterwards Christianized, and with great propriety, into the "island of saints." "They say," writes the Roman geographer, "that there is an island near to Britain, where rites similar to those practised in Samothrace in honour of Ceres and Proserpine, are practised." In truth, it was to such Carthaginian and Phœnician intercourse, that the before-mentioned remark of Tacitus, as to the harbours of Ireland being little known, applied. The Romans had no knowledge of these seas at that time, as is evident from the same Strabo, who, speaking of the Cassiterides, and the commerce thither, says

it was only carried on through Gades by the Phœnicians, who concealed their course from every one else, and, as he relates, when the Romans pursued a certain ship-captain, in order to learn the ports of his commerce thereabout, the captain immediately ran his own vessel on a shoal, thereby also drawing his pursuers into the same destruction. He alone was saved from shipwreck, and received as a national reward for his services, the full value of the cargo which he so cast away. This concealment of commercial intercourse by the Phœnicians, is also charged against them by Polybius and Pliny. And, indeed, so completely did the monopoly continue, that until the days of Agricola, as Tacitus shows in his Life of that General, the conquerors of the world were ignorant that Great Britain was an island, and even at a later period, as Moore writes, "when the flight of their eagles had extended as far as the Orcades, Ireland still remained free."

The early connexion and intercourse of Ireland with the knowledge and manners of the East through the Phœnicians, those "great carriers," as Moore justly styles them, "not only of colonies and commerce, but also of shrines and divinities to all quarters of the world," is further confirmed by the many vouchers of orientalism, which even at this day survive in this country. The frequent "God save you," "God save all here," "God bless you," "God be with you," cannot but remind the hearer of the solemn "God be gracious to thee my son," and other similar

phrases of salutation and benediction so peculiar to the East. The hand joined in hand, so often recorded in Scripture as the seal of contract, the May fires, and those on St. John's eve, with the leaping through the flame, and the various festivities associated with that element; the feastings and laments at funerals; the partiality for the number seven, as evinced in the groups of ancient churches and altars, so consonant with oriental prejudice; to all which might perhaps be added, that free and liberal hospitality, such as is recorded in the Old Testament, recommended in the New, and still noticed as so frequent by every Asiatic tourist; that hospitality, which the Hindoos beautifully inculcate in the proverb, "the tree does not withdraw its shade even from the wood-cutter," and which in its fulness, down to a very recent period, pre-eminently distinguished Ireland.

The second year of the Christian era is especially noticed by the Irish Annalists, as that in which died Cuchullin, the chief ornament and support of a then very celebrated military order in the north of Ireland, known by the style of the Knights of the Red Branch, and whose achievements in the long war entitled "Tain-bo-cuailgne" are so celebrated by the native bards, and are the basis of Mac Pherson's beautiful imposition, entitled "Ossian's Poems." As the district from whose devastation this civil feud of seven years' continuance took its name, Tain-bo-Cuailgne, i. e. "the spoils of the cattle at Cuailgne," is supposed by many to be that now known as

Collon(*a*), in the county of Louth, and vicinity of Drogheda; it may not be deemed wholly irrelevant here to allude to the event. The carrying off an immense quantity of cattle from that place, by Maud, a celebrated Queen of Connaught, a few years before the commencement of the Christian era, was the origin of hostilities, and the march of her army on this occasion headed by herself in her chariot, the valorous deeds of the Ulster heroes who opposed her, and especially the bravery of Cuchullin, are rapturously dilated upon by the bardic historians, copies of whose Narratives are preserved amongst the Manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin, and those of the Royal Irish Academy; while the district itself, like other portions of the country, has cast up memorials of arts military at the period, in hatchets of basalt, spearheads of grey granite, and arrow heads of flint, not unfrequently diversified by weapons of a better temper, fashioned like those Carthaginian swords that have been discovered on the field of Cannæ. In one of these engagements, it is related, that Cuchullin, in the eighth year before the Christian era, when he was but seventeen years of age, killed Ferdia, King of the Damnonii (i. e. the Tuatha de Danans' colony, who had been expelled into Connaught), at the ford of the Dee, hence called Ath-

(*a*) Mr. O'Donovan, in a note to the "Battle of Moira," recently published by the Archæological Society, considers the locality of Cualgne should rather be identified with the Cooley, north of Dundalk.

ferdia, now Ardee. It should be here added, that, while the knights of the Red Branch were, according to Bardic history, the most distinguished by their numbers, power, and discipline, the other provinces had similar establishments, the knights of Leinster being styled—Clana-Baoisgne ; those of Munster—Clana-Deaghadh ; those of Connaught, Clana-Morni, from the respective chieftains who were their founders.

At a royal feast given on the plain of Bregia, not far distant from this town, Fergus, who held the government of Ireland in the middle of the third century, being, according to the native annalists, the 106th monarch in lineal succession from Heremon, entertained the celebrated Cormac, the grandson of Conn of the hundred battles, and who was himself styled Ulfada, from having, after a severe conflict at Granard, banished many of the defeated Ulster army to the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, upon which occasion this justly eulogized chief received an insult that led to the dethronement of Fergus and his own promotion to the sovereignty. Immediately after his accession he assembled the wise men of the land at Tara, and with their advice had the existing scattered narratives of the bards collected in one Register, hence called the Psalter of Tara, while he likewise promulgated legislative measures, such as in the existing state of society seemed best calculated to promote the happiness of his people, and many of which continued in force until the introduction of

English law slowly supplanted them. Nor were the thoughts of this great man less zealously directed to the eternal welfare of his people. Utterly dissenting from the Paganism that surrounded him, although in Ireland it exhibited a character more refined and rational than in any other quarter of the globe, he ventured to uphold the doctrine of one Omnipotent Being, governing the universe by his will and wisdom; and in furtherance of this his belief, is recorded to have carried on a theological discussion with the Magi so earnestly, that his sudden death is by some attributed to the agency of their provoked resentment. That event occurred about the close of the third century, in a cottage near Kells, whither he had retired from the cares of government seven years previously. It is also recorded, that in his dying moments he prohibited the burial of his body in the Royal sepulchre of his Pagan predecessors, at the Rath-na-Riogh, in Tara; in literal observance of the words of which wish, though not of the principle that recommended it, his people carried the corpse towards a burial ground, not less recognized for public and distinguished inhumation according to the rites of the day, within the district extending from the limits of Dowth to New Grange, of which more full mention shall be made hereafter. The Magi were, however, no less reluctant to receive him at that side of the Boyne, and as there was no bridge then across the river, they three several times frustrated all attempts to lead the funeral, as was sought through

the water, a little below the hill of Slane. On the fourth occasion it is said, the struggle was so violent that the bier was whirled into the water, and carried down to Ros-na-riogh, i. e. "the promontory of the King," where, when discovered, the body was solemnly interred, thus giving a name to the locality. The Four Masters, after many well-merited eulogies on the memory of this sovereign, state that he composed the "Tiagasc-na-Riogh" (instructions for Kings) in order to promote good manners, morals, and social duties in the kingdom, was an illustrious author on government and history, and promulgated laws and regulations, according to justice, so that what he prescribed was adhered to in Ireland, to the then present time. In the more glorious pre-eminence of his religious opinions, although Cormac could not be said to have believed in Christ, yet his undoubted Theism, and his utter abhorrence of the Pagan rites of the day, obtained such favour in the eyes of St. Columb, that he is said, after a lapse of four centuries from the period of the monarch's death, to have paid him the reverence usually given to eminent and holy believers, erecting a chapel or oratory over his grave, and, as a Pagan convert of the earliest auspice, whose precepts and example in life were a light amongst the heathens, a forerunner of the coming revelation, he well merited that tribute to his memory. From his time Druidism, or rather the Magian worship, declined, and the ultimate reception of St. Patrick was irresistibly facilitated.

The principal inhabitancy of Drogheda, such as it must have been from its maritime position at the "inver," or mouth of the sea, which gave name to Inver Colpa, and for the object and enjoyment of the commerce before alluded to, was at this time, as for many years after, at the Meath and fort side of the river; but the necessity of intercourse with the other, led to the construction of one of the then usual bridges of hurdles rested upon piles, in aid of the ford which previously opened the only mode of communication, from which structure the town is generally considered to have acquired the appellation of Drogheda, i. e. "the bridge of the ford," which, although by the monkish annalists somewhat altered into Treoit, and by the English writers yet more into Tredagh, is now its universally accepted name. At this time, and subsequently, this town, at least the northern portion of it, was, with the whole county now known as Louth, and much of Armagh, Monaghan, and Fermanagh, inhabited by the Oirghialla, descendants of the three Collas, a tribe that in 333 destroyed the famous palace of Eamania, near Armagh, and drove the ancient Ultonians into the present counties of Down and Antrim. The chief families (it may be added), that, when surnames were established in Ireland, sprung from this Oirghialla sept were those of O'Carrol, O'Hanlon (hereditary standard bearers of Ulster), Mac Mahon and Maguire.

Doctor Hanmer, with that confiding belief in le-

gendary lore, for which he is so remarkable, states this locality to have been the residence and stronghold of a son of Fin Mac Coul, the father being at the same time, that is to say, at the beginning of the fourth century, dynast of Dundalk. This Fin was the son-in-law of the aforesaid Cormac, and is the Fingal whom, in disregard of chronology, Mac Pherson, in his "Ossian's Poems," makes a contemporary of Cuchullin. The fort or dun, so durably existing at the Meath side of this town, would indeed induce a belief, that it was the military station of one of those chiefs of Scotia (by which title Ireland was then exclusively called), who co-operated with the Picts, as recorded by Eumenius the Rhetorician and other writers, in harassing the Britons and Romans, and who, although an earlier origin for this mount is hereinbefore suggested, might possibly have, on their return from England, borrowed the model of this and similar earthworks from the Roman camps, yet so numerous in the sister kingdom. The Mill-Mount at Drogheda has evidently been a fort of high antiquity, a work of art, grafted as it were on nature, cut out of the hill, rather than like the funeral mounts raised from the plain, and undoubtedly in its prouder days presenting in fosses, ramparts and entrenchments, the strong similitude of "grim visaged war." On its summit was then the central habitation of the chief, while his family and adherents surrounded him with their humbler abodes of earthen walls, interlaced with wood or wicker work, covered

with fern or heath; and, as the country at this time abounded with forests, prudence as well as convenience suggested the use of that material, while it is not to be forgotten, that Venerable Bede most liberally extols the peculiar neatness and beauty with which this class of edifices was erected in Ireland.

The Annals of Drogheda, in the ensuing century, connect in a very remarkable manner with the mission of the Apostle of Ireland, in its earliest auspice. The plain of Bregia, on the skirt of which this town was situated, as it included the seat and stronghold of Irish sovereignty and power, so was it the capital and theatre of gentilism, and all the Pagan rites then venerated; as the remains at Rath, Dowth, New Grange, Knowth, Bellewstown, Grenanstown, &c., still testify. Thither, therefore, after some unsuccessful efforts to effect a landing in other parts of Ireland, St. Patrick in 432 resolved to direct his steps, and, in accordance with that resolution, ran his little vessel into the harbour of Colpe, as the nearest and safest place of debarkation. Thence he and his companions, with the exception of St. Loman (afterwards first Bishop of Trim), whom he left at the mouth of the Boyne to guard his boat and aid the mission thereabout, proceeded to Slane; where, while King Leogaire was celebrating a heathen festival, and his Magi were about displaying that sacred flame, that Baal-tinne (i. e. sunfire), until the lighting of which on May eve, as before alluded

to, no other was permitted to be kindled in Ireland (*a*), the Saint raised such a beacon blaze (*b*) as was distinguishable from the heights of Tara. The king (say St. Patrick's biographers), no less alarmed than astonished thereby, appealed to his Magi, and earnestly inquired by whom, or for what purpose, it was lighted, and then it was that these priests are recorded to have made the memorable reply, "this fire, which has been kindled in our presence before the flame was lit up in your palace, unless extinguished this very night, shall never be extinguished more, yea it will triumph over all the fires of our ancient rites, and he who lights it shall scatter your kingdom." The prediction was happily fulfilled. Leogaire, the reigning monarch, after some opposition, renounced the religion of his ancestors, and his royal example was soon followed by many of his court. Even the chief poet of the king believed, and with the zeal of a new proselyte, converted the pæans in which he had celebrated false gods, to hymns in praise of the Almighty and his holy

(*a*) The same ceremony, according to Hyde, prevails in Persia, where, after a festival of the 24th of April, the domestic fires are every where extinguished, nor would any good believer rekindle them but by a taper lighted at the dwelling of the priest.

(*b*) "According to the ancient as well as the modern ecclesiastical liturgy, fire was to be struck and lighted up with solemn prayers and ceremonies on Easter, which fire was to be kept burning in the Church lamps till the eve of Good Friday in the ensuing year."—*Milner's Enquiry*.

angels(a). In 443 St. Patrick made his entry into Drogheda, under the following peculiar circumstances; the fame of his sanctity, and the glorious results of his preaching were proclaimed throughout the kingdom so loudly that he determined to revisit the court at Tara, his labours since his arrival having been directed to the work of conversion in Connaught and Ulster. His approach on this occasion was from Ardpatrik, near Louth, and as soon as the inhabitants of Drogheda heard that he was coming towards their town, crossing the river, they went out in a body and received him about a mile in advance on the Collon road, and there standing upon a stone, since traditionally called Clogh-Patrick, the Saint preached to his auditory the happy tidings of salvation, and baptized his converts in a well still more contiguous to this town, and which, on its extension at the northern side, gave name to Patrick's Well Lane; the well, has, however, been some time since closed up.

The scepticism that would have cast a doubt on the existence of St. Patrick, or at least enveloped in obscurity the era of his ministry, has been long since exploded, and, as his visit to Drogheda appears no less assured by concurrent testimony, the

(a) In the Harleian Manuscripts of the British Museum is one thin parchment folio, purporting to be "The Great Sanction New Law or Constitution of Nine, made in favour of Christianity in Ireland A. D. 439, by the three Kings, Leogaire, Core and Fergus; three Bishops, Patrick, Cornea, and Benignus; and three sages, Dubthach, Daire, and Rossa.

association is one of such moral sublimity as cannot be lightly passed over. Through this port the first dawn of Christianity broke in upon Ireland; here the unceasing energies of its Apostle were employed to instruct the fire-worshippers, even at their own stronghold; and the towers of Paganism over the land were exorcised and converted to the uses of the true faith. From this propitious beginning it was that, when the Roman empire was crumbling into ruin, and darkness hung over its Pagan tributaries, the children of Ireland alone "had light in their dwelling." Their country was, as Aldhelm is obliged to describe it in that letter of jealous sarcasm which Archbishop Ussher has preserved in the "Sylloge," "a country rich in the wealth of science, and as thickly set with learned men as the poles are with stars; she was the ark of religion, the mart of learning, and the great seminary of youth." And this is the better portion of the era to which that profound thinker, Doctor Johnson alludes, in his correspondence with the elder Charles O'Connor. "Dr. Leland," he writes, "begins his history too late. The ages which deserve an exact inquiry are those times, for such there were, when Ireland was the school of the west, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature. If you could give a history, though imperfect, of the Irish nation, from its conversion to Christianity to the invasion from England, you would amplify knowledge with new views, and new objects." The pro-

gress of the Apostle's mission was in truth singularly favoured and cherished, and in few places was its fruit more rapidly and lastingly implanted than in Drogheda and its vicinity, as shown in other parts of this work. Thus, at the commencement of the sixth century, Christianity might be considered of universal adoption and belief throughout Ireland, while in the immediately ensuing centuries, extending her sanctity and learning to Britain and the continent, she sent forth those zealous missionaries, whose memory is still revered over Europe.

As the faith strengthened in the soil, however, it seemed the will of heaven to subject it to trials and persecutions.

The last notice of those days of holy happiness referrible to this vicinity is found in Eddius's life of Wilfred, where he mentions that Dagobert, prince of Austrasia, having been banished in his youth from his own country, crossed over in 673 to this harbour, and thence, as it is supposed, betook himself to the Abbey of Slane, where he passed eighteen years in acquiring the principles of religion and science. After that interval, his friends at home, discovering his retreat by intelligence from merchants, implored the holy prelate Wilfrid to urge his return, a wish with which the Bishop complied, and sent him with great solemnity back to his people, a restored sovereign under the title of Dagobert the Second, when, as Moore suggests (*History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 286), it is highly probable "he was

accompanied or followed by some of those eminent scholars who had, during his stay in Ireland, presided over his studies, as we find him, on his accession to the throne, extending his notice and patronage to two distinguished natives of Ireland, St. Arbogast and St. Florentius, the former of whom, having resided for some time in retirement at Alsace, was by Dagobert appointed Bishop of Strasburg, and on his death a few years after, his friend and countryman, Florentius, became his successor. The tombs of two brothers, Erard and Albert, both distinguished saints of this period, were long shown at Ratisbon; and St. Wiro rose to such eminence by his sanctity, that Pepin of Heristal, the mighty ruler and father of kings, selected him for his spiritual director, and was accustomed, we are told, to confess to him barefoot." Before he left this country he must have, most probably, been an eye-witness of the melancholy devastation of Ireland, which was perpetrated in 684, by Bert, the general of Egfrid, the Northumbrian king, more especially on the plain of Bregia and its vicinity, around Drogheda, as Tigernach writes, and which is so pathetically lamented by Bede, not only as inflicted on a nation the most inoffensive and friendly to Englishmen, but as also characterized by such unrestrained sacrileges in churches and monasteries, that he actually attributes the calamities that soon after befel the English, to the crying guilt of this incursion. It may be here added, that in consequence of this visitation, the ce-

lebrated Abbot Adamnan was subsequently sent on an embassy from the King of Ireland to Egfrid, who thereupon made all available reparation for the injuries so committed by his army. In thirteen years afterwards, however (according to Tigernach), the Picts, a new class of invaders, devastated the shores of Louth.

The years that immediately succeed, with the exception of some few notices that seemed most referrible to the Annals of the Abbey of Drogheda, in an earlier section of this work, present only memorials of rapine and bloodshed. The feuds and guilty plottings that sprung from the unfortunate subdominations of Ireland, the multiplied independent districts, and the unsettled course of succession to government, soon utterly banished the auspices of peace and piety.

In 720, Cathal, King of Munster, laid waste the plains of Bregia to the verge of this town, until Feargall, King of Tara, consented to conclude a peace with him, and gave hostages to secure its inviolability. In 780, the people of Bregia had a sanguinary conflict with those of Leinster, in which fell Cucongal, King of Rath-Inver. At the commencement of the ensuing century, the natives of this district were arrayed in more legitimate hostility against the Danes, who, in sixty long transports, entered the mouth of the Boyne, plundered all the ecclesiastical edifices within the territories of Magh Liffe, and Magh Breagh; extended their ravages to Kildare; destroyed

that ancient town with fire and sword, carried away the shrines of St. Bridget and St. Conlaeth, and would have pursued yet farther their ruinous career, had they not been opposed by the people of Bregia, and driven back to their ships with considerable loss; but, such was the unhappy state of existing jealousies and feuds, that union against the common foe was impracticable, and the victors on this occasion were themselves immediately afterwards worsted by the Irishry of Fingal.

About the year 830, Turgesius the Dane, one of the bravest, but also one of the most cruel warriors of the time, invaded Ireland, as it would seem, in this quarter, debarking his forces here from a large fleet, and at Drogheda, as before suggested, he made his head-quarters, occupying the fort now known as the Mill-Mount, while his horde plundered the town and the rich surrounding country, desecrated the abbey, and murdered its abbot. His name was as a talisman; and, while crowds of adventurers followed on his summons in the wake of his vessel, all the foreigners of theretofore divided interests, that were scattered over the island, flocked to his terrific banner, and leagued in one unholy partnership for the destruction of a devoted country, in which the dissensions of the native princes enabled them to make too speedy and permanent settlements. Two fleets, it is expressly said, of one hundred and twenty sail, arrived, one in the Boyne, and the other in the Liffey; "whence," writes Moore, "pouring forth their

swarms over the plains through which those rivers flow, they inflicted, on the already sacked and exhausted country, new varieties of desolation and ruin. It was their custom thus to avail themselves of the facilities which the fine inland waters of Ireland afforded, being enabled, by means of light barks, which they launched on the rivers and lakes, to penetrate far into the country, and, by sudden landings, take the unguarded and panic struck natives by surprise." The tradition that the chief residence of Turgesius was at Drogheda, is confirmed by the Annalists stating it to have been near the palace of the King of Meath, by reason of which vicinity they say, and the account is accredited and verified by Giraldus Cambrensis, he became acquainted and enamoured with that king's daughter, and demanded her from her royal father. A well-dissembled assent led to the introduction of the princess to the tyrant, accompanied however by fifteen gallant youths attired as females, who, while Turgesius and his adherents were ill prepared for such encounter, drawing their hitherto concealed swords, executed national vengeance upon the courtiers and their cruel lord. The curious reader will find, in Warner's poem of "Albion's England" (lib. v. c. 26), a quaint and interesting adoption of this supposed catastrophe. The death of the Dane is, however, in the simplicity of the more creditable Irish Annals, stated to have been the result of his discomfiture in battle, in A. D. 843, when the victor condemned him to be thrown into a lake near the present town of Mullingar.

His death was the signal for a frightful re-action ; the long persecuted natives sprung upon their despots, and the astounded Northerns were either slain in battle, waylaid by stratagems, or compelled, as Giraldus affirms, to return to their native country. A. impolitic application of the allegory, that the best way to banish unwelcome birds, is to destroy their nests, imprudently induced the Irish to raze the superstructures which the Danes had in the plenitude of their power constructed over the island ; and so far was the excitement of triumph carried at this unexpected redemption from slavery, that their King (as related in the *Chronicon de Gestis Nordmannorum*) even sent ambassadors to Charles the Bald, signifying his wish to offer his thanksgivings at Rome, and praying a liberty of free passage through the territories of France. Unfortunately, however (as Warner remarks in his excellent *History of Ireland*), the time which should have been employed by the natives in providing a naval force, in repairing for their own protection the Danish fortifications, which they had so demolished, or in erecting new ones on their coasts, they wasted in "ease which was unmanly, or in exercises which were unprofitable." The enemy, that was prowling without, greedily hailed the facilities thus presented, and in 849 fresh auxiliaries in their interest passed over (as recorded in the "*Antiquitates Celto-Scandinaviæ*"), in 140 ships to Ireland, and renewed the barbarism of the preceding years ; destroying amongst the rest the

abbey of Drogheda, and putting to death two hundred and sixty persons; while in two years afterwards, another fleet of these pirates entered the mouth of the Boyne, and also took possession of Drogheda. In 877, during the existence of a war of reprisals between some Irish septa and the natives of Galloway, Gregory, King of Scotland, as Buchanan relates, in order to reimburse his subjects for injuries alleged to have been done to them, passed with an army into Ireland, took Dundalk and Drogheda, and afterwards laid siege to Dublin. In 902, the Prince of Bregia mustered and headed a force, with which he expelled the Danes from his territory, which seems to have induced the fall of his successor, hereinafter mentioned.

Some time subsequent to Turgesius' death, a fresh concourse of invaders collected, as Giraldus writes, from Norway and the Northern Isles, took possession of the seaports of Ireland, and built, or rather strengthened, various cities, for the professed purposes of traffic; Waterford, Limerick, and Dublin, being amongst the first. Of this horde, Reginald, styled Mac Yvor, became the self-constituted King of Dublin, and a sharp naval engagement between him and another leader of his own country, is recorded to have taken place in 914, off the Isle of Man. In 917 a memorable battle was fought by the King of Ireland and his tributary princes, against this Reginald's subjects of Dublin, and their leaders Imar and Sitric, in which fell, with the King of Ireland, two

Princes, one styled Maol-Crabh, Lord of Orgiell (County Louth), and Maol-mith, Lord of Bregh (Bregia). The men of Drogheda must have acted a prominent part in the deadly contest of that day, in which were so slain the petty princes that ruled their confines at each side of the Boyne, and the hostility of the victors to this town, the sacrilegious desolation which they then committed in its religious houses, and the murder of its abbot, as noticed in the history of the abbey, were the consequent results of reckless vengeance. The historic interest must be deepened, if the battle can be connected with that hero and King of Denmark, Regner Lodbrog, not less celebrated for his wars and victories, than for his qualifications as a scald or poet. In the commencement of the Ninth Book of Saxo-Grammaticus (a Danish historian of considerable note, who flourished in the thirteenth century), the exploits of this warrior are recounted with enthusiasm; and amongst these it is particularly related, that, after a series of victories in England, he carried his arms into Ireland, where having slain its king, Maolbrigh, he took possession of Dublin. Although some minute differences occur, as might be expected, in the accounts of the Danish and Irish Annalists, yet, the coincidence of Regner becoming King of Dublin on the death of Maol-brigh in the former version, with Reginald, King of Dublin, when "Maol-Mith, Lord of Bregh," was slain in battle, are so striking, that it would seem unjustifiable to exclude the warrior

from these pages. The Danish historian relates, that afterwards, on his own hereditary kingdom having been usurped, he was induced to return to Denmark for its recovery, when he was thrown into prison and condemned to be destroyed by serpents, under the prolonged infliction of which torments he languished unto death. This royal sea-rover is supposed to have rehearsed the exploits of his life, in the celebrated poem commencing "*Pugnavimus ensibus*," &c., preserved by Olaus Wormius, in his book, "*De Runicâ Literaturâ*," in which he is graphically commemorated, as recalling with pride to his memory, the battles of his youth, "the hawk triumphantly careering over the field where swords were clashing, and bodies piled upon bodies," and where "*Marstan*" (so he calls the King of Ireland) "gave his body to the birds of prey."

The Northern historians assert, that in his reign, the natives of Denmark and Norway were more numerous on sea than on land, so that "these whole nations," according to the "*Chronicon Slavorum*" of Abbé Arnold, "wore nothing but the habits of sailors, that they might be ready to embark on the first signal. The occupation of a pirate was considered not merely lawful, but honorable: of those, therefore, who followed this line of life, the leaders are distinguished in the Sagas by the appropriate appellation of sea-kings, "and rightly are they named sea-kings," says the author of the *Yulinga Saga*, "who never seek shelter under a roof, nor ever drain their

drinking horn at a cottage fire." Notwithstanding the severity of their climate (as an able but anonymous writer on ancient Irish biography, has remarked), and the poverty of their soil, their population increased so rapidly as to become too numerous for their productive resources, and hordes of them were, in consequence, compelled from time to time to seek, by settlement or plunder elsewhere, the means of subsistence. Under such circumstances, they effected the establishment of their power in France, where they were called Normen, for the same reason that they were called Ostmen or Eastmen in Ireland. At first their attempts upon Ireland, as on most other countries, were confined to mere predatory incursions, which their excellence in navigation, arising from their natural facilities for ship-building, in the growth of suitable timber, and other materials, and from their proximity to the sea, rendered at once easy and safe, being generally effected by surprise. Gradually, however, emboldened by repeated success, which was facilitated by the panic their atrocities created, they meditated the conquest of the entire country. This design was not contemplated by the petty leaders of the hordes that made the early invasions, but was deliberately adopted by the Princes of their nation, like Turgesius and Regner, whose ambition and cupidity were excited by the spoil which their pirate princes had obtained; the representations which they made of the fertility and climate of the island, and the com-

parative wealth and resources of its towns and abbeys ; and, assuredly, when the Danes first arrived in Ireland, they found a country rapidly progressing into civilization, and covered with flourishing schools, wherein the sciences were taught, and the arts cultivated ; but, in the melancholy period of their military occupation, they rioted over the land with such ruinous desolation, that scarcely a monument of its former pride was suffered to remain. Trained up as they were from their infancy, to the barbarous chivalry of a pirate life, devoted to the profession of arms, so as almost to pay divine honours to their swords, inured and accustomed to feats of desperate valour, educated only in the experience of dangerous exercises, they set but little value on the opportunities for better instruction, which, on their first coming into Ireland, opened around them. Some few of the academies, however, they suffered to maintain a precarious establishment, and thus, after the destruction of Icolm Kill, Ireland was enabled to shelter and preserve that learning, which Scotland thereby in a great measure lost.

After the overthrow of Turgesius, and the retirement of Regner, or Reginald, such of their insidious countrymen as remained in the Irish seaports, by artful professions, and submissive demeanour, pretty generally effected a peaceable settlement, with the avowal and expectation of commercial advantages ; and the long disuse of commerce by the natives by reason of national prejudices, native dissensions, and

the tyranny of the foreigners who might have earlier recommended it, made them now disposed for its reception. Short, however, and partial, was this interval of repose. In 950, the Danes plundered Slane, and in the following year wasted a great portion of the country about it; but on the latter occasion, when returning loaded with spoil, they were intercepted by the Irish, and put to flight, with the loss of 6,000 men. In 980, their power was greatly broken in the memorable battle of Tara, where their principal commanders and leaders were slain, and the battle of Clontarf, in 1014, for ever closed their domination in Ireland, although their qualified residence in the chief seaports continued to be tolerated, under restrictions and regulations, which were in policy respected even beyond the time of the English invasion, and, accordingly, the charters of the subsequent English Kings to the maritime cities or towns, prudently reserved the rights and privileges of such mercantile sojourners.

In 1026, Donogh, the son of the justly celebrated Brian Ború, entered Meath with a strong force, and levied hostages thence, especially from the plain of Bregia and its inhabitants(*a*). In 1039, Donogh Fitz Patrick, with the people of Ossory, led an army into Meath, and devastated the country about Drogheda(*b*). In nine years afterwards, Donald O'Brien, leading his forces beyond the plain of Bregia, levied

(*a*) *Annals of the Four Masters.* (*b*) *Id.*

tribute from the Danes, evidently those then occupying Drogheda(*a*); and in 1056, Turlogh O'Brien, leading his adherents from Munster hither, so despoiled Bregia and its vicinity, that, as the Annalist remarks, "Munster never acquired greater spoil of men or cattle"(*b*). In 1084, Dunslevy, King of Ulster, received tribute, in Drogheda, from Donogh, the son of Caillach O'Rourke. In 1108 a battle was fought between the people of Meath and those of Uriel (Louth), at Drogheda, in which the latter were defeated. In 1145 this town was burned by Donogh O'Carrol, in hostility to the family of O'Melaghlin. In 1147 all Ulster was devastated by the O'Loughlens; as it was again in the ensuing year by the same sept, aided by the O'Carrols and O'Rourkes. In 1149 the O'Carrols laid waste the plain of Bregia. In 1150 Meath was forcibly partitioned between O'Conor, O'Rourke, and O'Carrol (O'Melaghlin being ousted of all share in the ancient inheritance of his ancestors); and in 1152 Drogheda was again sacked by the O'Briens. In 1155, Murtough O'Loughlen devastated Meath, while Tiernan O'Rourke, after a successful invasion of the country of O'Carrol, imprisoned the Chief of the sept in an island of Lough-Shillen. Thus was it that domestic feuds succeeded foreign ravages throughout the country; the laws of more tractable generations became ineffective, until at length the government was irrecoverably preci-

(*a*) Annals of the Four Masters.

(*b*) Ann. Inisf.

pitated into all those errors, to which, by its original constitution, it had too fatal an inclination. The supreme sovereignty was acquired by violence, and maintained by rapine; the subordinate chieftains were but multiplied instances of the same irregularity, feuds and factions extended through every extending circle of the population, grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength, until at length the country, at that era which these annals have now reached, the period of the English invasion, presented, as illustrated in the history of this locality, nearly as great an annihilation of former pre-eminence, as the once classic Greece does to the modern inquirer.

While the domestic state of Ireland thus invited invasion, that of England stimulated the measure. The English, in the century preceding the succession of Henry the Second to the crown, had become better acquainted with the civil and ecclesiastical state of Ireland, than they had ever been before, but no permanent or beneficial interest resulted from this knowledge. Many of the Irish were then engaged in the Welch wars; and many had come over with the sons of Harold, to assert his title against the Conqueror, and their accounts were most probably of a nature to excite the ambition of some, and the curiosity of all. England, during her heptarchy, was divided, while Ireland was comparatively strong; when Ireland became most divided, England was united. The Norman conquest, it is true, excited

much discontent and division, but these causes of dissension soon subsided, and the English, in a very short interval, saw the force of the maxim, that “national union is national strength.”

The invasion of Ireland seemed an object well worthy of enterprise, much earlier than the period of its actual occurrence. William the Conqueror, when he made his political pilgrimage to St. David's, and there received the homage of the Welch, might most probably, have conceived the notion of adding Ireland to his acquisitions; it is at least related by Cambrensis, in the commencement of his “Itinerary of Wales,” that “William Rufus, in one of the expeditions which he conducted against the natives of that country, discerning the Irish hills from the heights on which he stood, declared to his attendants, in the fulness of his ambition, ‘that he would one day make a bridge across with his ships, for the conquest of that island(*a*);’” but this, and other great

(*a*) This declaration of William Rufus, as well as the circumstance of a tract of land off Pembroke-shire being recovered from the sea in 1171, as mentioned by Giraldus, confirm the Cambrian traditions, that formerly a large tract of country extended in that quarter, much nearer to the Irish coast. Cardigan bay, according to their accounts, was once a fine valley, in which was a good town; and their sailors aver, that there may be seen even yet at low water, between Pulhelly, in Caernarvonshire, and Barmouth, in Merionethshire, the ruins of a quay or pier-head, called Sarn Patrick, now some miles out at sea; while the theory of marine encroachment is not less powerfully evidenced by the appearances on the Irish coast, as in the drifting sands of Bannow, and off the coast of Wexford.

designs of that prince, were frustrated by his death, and not afterwards revived, until the accession, under the most favourable auspices, of Henry the Second, to the British Crown. Thus far it seemed relevant to this History, to preface respecting the English invasion, as well on account of the political events before related, which occurred at Drogheda, in fatal testimony of Irish disunion, as that here, in 1166, on the very eve of Strongbow's incursion, Roderic O'Connor, then the acknowledged King of Ireland, encamped with an army, for the object of ascertaining the feelings of allegiance towards him in this quarter, and here Donogh O'Carrol (whose territory, as Prince of Uriel, extended from Drogheda to Asigh, in the County of Meath), together with the other chiefs of Louth, came into Roderic's tent, delivered hostages for their fealty, and received in return, as recorded in the "Annals of Innisfallan," a "present of two hundred and forty beeves"(a).

Tacitus has recorded, in his "Life of Agricola," the conviction of Roman policy, that Ireland should be estimated as the great arena where Roman power might be most effectively employed, and "the chains not only of Britain, but likewise of Spain and Gaul,

(a) About this time Robert Travers, afterwards Bishop of Kilaloe, was born in Drogheda. This Prelate was deprived of his See by the Pope in 1221, and having thereupon passed over into England, he resided, a Bishop without a bishopric, at Tewkesbury, in the Annals of which town he is noticed, as consecrating two standards in its ancient church in 1224.

most effectually riveted;" and Henry the Second, with no less sagacity perceived, that from its geographical situation, it must be the strength or the weakness of England, her best friend or her fellest foe. As the Irish Princes, however, in their divisions, always confined their depredations to the territories of each other, no reasonable pretence was offered on this ground, for interfering in their concerns, or invading their country; other causes were therefore sought out, and other appeals as of necessity resorted to, to justify such a measure, and where the power and inclination concurred with the ambition of such a Prince as Henry, these were easily framed and adopted; every device which policy could suggest, every title which credulity could espouse, and withal, every fanaticism that religion would sanction, were suggested and enlisted in the cause. At such a crisis, immediately after the recognitions of Roderic O'Connor's sovereignty at Drogheda, as before mentioned, the infamous exile, Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, representing himself as an injured prince driven from his inheritance, threw himself at the feet of Henry, offering to hold his territories thenceforth as the vassal of the English Crown, provided sufficient assistance were but granted to him for its present recovery. The politic monarch at once saw the colour this submission afforded to his long cherished project. He prudently, however, contented his supplicant with a commission to such of his subjects as ambi-

tion might urge, or love of plunder prompt to join what forces they could raise, to support the cause of his new liegeman. On that license, Richard, Earl of Pembroke and Chepstow, commonly styled "Strongbow," from his superior archery, gathered adventurers for the exile's cause, from the territories of his tenure and title, Pembroke being the rendezvous appointed for such English, or rather Welch, as were willing to follow him in this expedition. There was the chart of their cause pointed out. Ireland was, as it were, mapped before them, and each warrior, as he passed into the castle, at the head of his armoured retainers, was suffered to carve out with his sword, the future inheritance of his posterity.

The jealousy, however, of Henry being awakened by the rapid successes of those adventurers, he summoned Strongbow to his presence at Newnham, near Gloucester, and there, having received that warrior's homage, he passed over to Ireland himself(*a*), at the close of the year 1171, and on his arrival in Dublin, committed its immediate government to Hugh de Lacy, to whom, in the commencement of the following year, he made that noble grant of Meath, the ancient mensal lands of the O'Melaghlin's while Kings of Ireland, and erected it into the first Palatinate in

(*a*) A Pipe Roll of the period states, amongst the Treasury disbursements, "118*s.* 7*d.* for 569 pounds of almonds sent to the King in Ireland; £10 7*s.* for Josephus Medicus, the king's doctor; £29 0*s.* 2*d.* for wine bought at Waterford; £333 6*s.* 8*d.* to John, the Marshal, to carry over to the King in Ireland," &c.

this country. This grant passed to the patentee all liberties and free customs in wood and plain, waters and mills, warrens and loughs, fisheries and chases, seaports, and all other places thereto appertaining, and is specially witnessed amongst others by Earl Strongbow, whose recognition Henry was anxious to acquire in such an extensive conveyance. The notice of this grant is the more pertinent here, as it included the town and lands of Drogheda, and was confirmed by King John, with very important exceptions that a few years had necessitated, viz. of the borough and castle of this town. In 1174, Roderic O'Connor, the last acknowledged King of Ireland, conceiving that circumstances, and especially the defection of Donald Kavanagh, the son of the late King Dermot, opened a favourable opportunity for re-asserting his sovereignty, invaded Meath with a large confederate force, from which, Hugh de Lacy being then absent, he destroyed all the fortresses erected by that lord, and laid waste the country to the vicinity of Dublin. Hugh Tyrrell, who had been left to defend the Palatinate, finding himself unable to hold possession of the castle of Trim, demolished the fortifications, and retreating towards Drogheda, also rased the castle of Duleek. About the same time, that of Slane, which had been granted by De Lacy to Richard le Fleming, ancestor of the barons of Slane, having been surprised by the Irish Chief to whom it previously belonged, the whole garrison and inmates were put to the sword, and Le Fleming

himself slain. In 1175, the re-action of English hostility devastated Meath through its whole extent, from Athlone to Drogheda.

In two years afterwards, King Henry, at a General Council held in Oxford, appointed his son John, who was then Earl of Moreton, Lord of Ireland, a measure, which, as that Prince was a younger son, and not heir apparent to the Crown of England, has been assumed by some, as indicating a design to erect Ireland into a separate kingdom for John and his line, but the more probable presumption is, that with his usual foresight, he perceived in the recent events in Ireland, the great advantages and facility that would be afforded in the extension of English dominion in that country, if a Prince of the Blood Royal was to be resident there, and that being conscious none of his other sons, enriched as they were with foreign dukedoms, would be inclined to gratify such an expatriation, he naturally looked to the only one whose necessities might recommend his object. The example, however, of granting away all Ireland, was thought so dangerous, that it never was followed except once by Henry the Third, and then only to the Prince who was his heir apparent, and on the express condition that it never should be separated from the English kingdom. The unaccountable patent of Richard the First to his favourite, Robert de Vere, cannot be considered any conflicting precedent, not only because in that grant there was a tenure by homage reserved, but more vitally, because in point of law, it never took effect.

Immediately subsequent to this aggrandisement of John, the king confirmed to Hugh de Lacy the former grant of Meath, including Drogheda, but with this variation from the charter of 1172, that this Lord should thenceforth hold that Palatinate, with all its appurtenances, under him (Henry), and his son John, and by the service of a hundred instead of fifty knights. In 1179, De Lacy was further honoured by the King's commission, appointing him viceroy of Ireland, under the style of Procurator General. Immediately on this new appointment he turned his attention to retrieve the interests which his predecessors in the government had endangered; and, as he felt in duty bound, applied himself to fortifying Leinster, and the Pale generally, with castles similar to those he had heretofore erected in the interior of Meath; and then it was that he erected at least one in the important pass of Drogheda: nor did he, while forwarding these works of military defence, neglect patronizing the arts of peace, and gaining the grateful affection, as well of the natives as of the English, by his affable behaviour, his impartial generosity, and his wise administration. As long as he was placed at the head of affairs, the country (remarks Hanmer) was singularly well managed; the priest kept his church, the soldier his garrison, and the ploughman followed his plough. In 1180, being Lord Justice of Ireland, he marched a force to this town, with the object of controlling the power of Sir John de Courcy, who had received

a patent of Ulster as his Palatinate, but from this expedition, as Hanmer observes, "rose much heart-burning, division, quarrels, and bloody brawls," among the English.

In 1185, fortified by the Pope's confirmation of his father's grant, prince John, then aged nineteen, visited Ireland, attended by a gorgeous cavalcade of young nobles(*a*), and having Ralph Glanville, then Chief Justice of all England, as his counsellor and adviser, and another not less remarkable person, Giraldus de Barri, commonly styled Cambrensis, as his tutor. In his tour of the Pale he appears to have sojourned for a time at Drogheda, when he granted to the Abbey of Mellifont (*inter alia*) the granges of Mell, Drogheda, &c., the grant being witnessed by Gilbert Peppard and others.

The records of a corporate character, referring to the town from this period, will be found in the previous Section, exclusively assigned to that branch of the history, while those of the castle and respective religious houses, are noted in that on the "Ancient Statistics."

(*a*) In a Pipe Roll of the period, preserved in Somerset House, Theobald, the first Chief Butler, and the founder of the house of Ormond, being, in a manner, the Comptroller of the Prince's establishment, had credit in his accounts, amongst other expenses, for 66*s.* 8*d.* for the freight of his "harnesium." Lord Coke alleges, that John visited Ireland three times, attributing one other visit to the third year of his reign, but the assertion, even on so great authority, is erroneous.

In 1204, the king issued his mandate, requiring John de Courcy to return to his allegiance, and empowering the Lord Deputy thereupon, to confer upon him eight cantreds of land immediately adjoining the possessions of Walter de Lacy and Hugh, his brother, the two sons of the original Palatine of Meath, to be held of such service as might be thereafter agreed upon. The monarch, however, by a grant of "Drogheda Pons" to Nicholas de Verdon, adroitly interposed a neutral interest to at least prevent collision between these rival lords. In the following year this latter noble had a more emphatic grant of the custody of the Bridge of Drogheda, to hold as his father had theretofore held it. The same sovereign, on the occasion of his second visit to Ireland, in 1210, passed in this town two days, the 8th and 9th of August, at which time possibly he despatched that predatory party, to which the "*Chronicon Manniæ*" alludes, where, speaking of this royal excursion, it states, that he then despatched a party of his troops under Fulco, to Man, who in fifteen days totally pillaged that island; and, after exacting hostages, returned home: the Chronicle adds, that neither Reginald, nor any of the nobility, were then in the island. At this time, also, John confirmed Hugh de Lacy's endowment of the Abbey of Mellifont, with the granges of Drogheda, Mell, &c., as hereafter more particularly set forth, *ad ann.* 1238. Hanmer, speaking of the sojourn of King John in Ireland, and its consequences so far

as the Pale was affected thereby, says, "King John having pacified the land, ordained that the English laws should be used in Ireland; appointed twelve English shires, of which were Meath and Louth; assigned Sheriffs and other officers to rule the same; reformed the coin; directed its uniformity in weight and fineness, and made it current as well in England as in Ireland." When he had "disposed of his affairs, and ordered all things at his pleasure," he took the sea again with much triumph, and landed in England on the 30th day of August. It must be remarked, however, that although the king might have meditated such a division of counties, and although Sir John Davis supports the assertion, the history of the country contradicts its realization for centuries.

A short time previous to this, Walter de Lacy had obtained a Royal license to erect one mill at the bridge of Drogheda, provided such erection did not prejudice the king, or any of his subjects; and from the manner in which this bridge is mentioned in the record, it may be fairly inferred, that one of better and more durable materials, such as in the twelfth century Turlogh O'Connor constructed over the Shannon and the Suck, was heretofore erected in this place, by which it would appear, that Drogheda preceded the metropolis in such a useful erection, the patent for the first substantial bridge over the Liffey, at Dublin, bearing date not until 1215. According to the Irish Annalists, the king at this time rode into the heart of Meath, as far as Ardraccan,

to meet Cathal O'Connor, of Connaught, surnamed Crobh-dearg (i.e. of the bloody hand), who there tendered the first allegiance for that province to English government, and, returning with John, proceeded to Carrickfergus, whence that monarch then banished Hugh De Lacy the younger from Ulster, as he did Walter De Lacy from Meath. In 1213, Reginald, King of Man, had a confirmation to him and his heirs, of one knight's fee, near Carlingford, in the territory of Ulster on the sea, which the Bishop of Norwich, then the King's Irish Justiciary, had by the king's command assigned to him; the patent also recognized his right to receive one hundred cranocks of corn yearly at Drogheda. A patent, of the 19th year of Henry the Third, throws light on the reasons of this claim of the King of Man, granting, as it does, to Olave, King of Man and of the Isles, as a recompense for his expenses in guarding those parts of the coast of England and Ireland, which looked towards each other and towards the Isle of Man, an annuity of forty marks, with a render of 100 cranocks of corn and five pipes of wine, all to be received out of Ireland at Easter, by the hands of the Lord Justice for the time being(*a*). It may be here mentioned that the Norwegian King, Magnus, who preceded both Reginald and Olave, in the government of Man and the Isles, is recorded to have seriously entertained the project of adding Ireland

(*a*) Rot. Chart. in Turr. Lond.

to his dominions, and the marriage of his son Sigurd, whom he had then newly appointed King over the Isles, with the daughter of the Irish monarch, Murchtagh, seemed a most auspicious consummation of his hopes; but his subsequent efforts by hostile measures to subdue Ireland, were gallantly repulsed by the natives, and but accelerated his own death.

In 1215, the aforesaid Walter De Lacy(*a*), who

(*a*) This Walter de Lacy having on his decease left no issue male, and only two daughters, his co-heiresses, a writ of 1245, of an interesting character, in reference to the family, appears of record in the Fine Rolls of the Tower of London. It recites, that Walter de Lacy had been indebted to the heirs of Hamo of Hereford, a Jew, in £725; to David of Oxford, another Jew, in £150; to Blanch of Hereford, a Jewess, in £40, &c., all which his said debts were now vested in the Crown, and were payable by Peter de Geneville and Matilda his wife, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of said Walter de Lacy; and by John de Verdon and Margery his wife, another daughter and co-heiress of said de Lacy, moietywise; but the King thereby forgave and acquitted Peter and Matilda, directing, nevertheless, that John and Margery should discharge their proportion.

The Fine Rolls of the Tower of London, from which this note is extracted, comprise a great variety of matter, relating to deaths as of tenants in capite; succession of heirs; descent, division, and alienation of property; custody of lands, and of heirs during minorities; liveries; marriages of heiresses and widows; assignments, as of dower; forfeitures, pardons, &c.; subjects, many of which were afterwards placed under the superintendence of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Fine Rolls do not appear, at least known by that title, in the Records of Ireland, and those of the Court of Wards are only imperfectly preserved, in the Crown and Hanaper Office, extending, such as they are, from 1637, with lost intervals, to 1662.

had for a time incurred the King's displeasure, obtained, on payment of 4000 marks, a restoration of his estates hereabout, saving to the Crown the possession of the Castle of Drogheda; and in 1220 he had a further confirmation of all his possessions in Ireland, including the talliage and aid chargeable on Drogheda, and also a chief rent of £20, payable out of the Castle of Drogheda, and 20 marks out of that of Blackagh and their appurtenances; but the possession of these fortresses was therein declared to be retained to the Crown, and proved a very essential reservation for the safety of the Pale in the immediately ensuing war with Hugh de Lacy the younger. In 1222, the men of Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, Cork, and Limerick, were ordered to maintain a galley in each port for the defence of the land; and in 1228, as has been seen in the corporate history, certain customs were granted for one year, as an aid for the better construction of the bridge here. In the Close Rolls of the following year in the Tower of London, are recorded proceedings in a suit between Walter le Roquere and Philip de Nugent, concerning a carucate of land lying outside the bridge of Drogheda; and of another suit between Ralph Bagot and Nicholas de Verdon, concerning the adjacent manor of Rath. The former litigation regarded, as explained in a Close Roll of the 17th of John, a townland denominatèd "Chilbrid," which the burgesses of Drogheda had theretofore held, but of which they were deprived by the before mentioned Bishop of

Norwich. Authentic copies of the Sheriffs' accounts to the Exchequer, for the revenue officially collected by them from Drogheda, as bailiffs for the king, in 1229 and 1254(a), are extant in the Lambeth Manuscripts. This town was then the bound of the province of Leinster, which, as stated in an ancient poem of Tanud O'Maolconaire, extended from the Bo-omhin, i. e. river of cows (Boyne), and from Droichid-atha to the confluence of the three waters, i. e. New Ross.

In 1238, the king confirmed the grant of Prince John, whereby the Abbey of Mellefont had been further assured in its possessions of the granges of Mell and Drogheda, Rathmolán, Finnaneer (i. e. Killaneer), Theachlenny (i. e. Tullyallen), Collon, Kep-pock, of the original endowment of Hugh de Lacy, and one carucate of land in Cremla, the gift of Robert Fleming. This patent received subsequent further

(a) The Pipe Rolls of Ireland, which are the proper records of these Sheriffs' accounts, are deposited in Bermingham Tower, and may be said to commence with the 46th year of the reign of Henry the Third, whence they are continued down in a regular series to the 11th of George the Second. They also contain some interesting items of aids levied for the government of this country, and such particulars of their disbursement as afford thus far unerring testimony of dates and events, of historic importance. For the links of family pedigrees in the earlier centuries, they furnish not less certain evidence, in the descriptions requisite in the feudal tenures on escheats, marriages, and wardships; and, if made accessible within reasonable and stated charges, would be most serviceable for the objects of general and family history.

confirmation from the same monarch, in 1253. In 1250, the Deanery of Drogheda was, with those of Ardee and Dundalk, and the church of Louth, disunited from the diocese of Clogher, and annexed to the See of Armagh. The year 1269 is commemorated in the Annals for such hurricanes as "prostrated houses, churches, and woods, and drowned many ships." A suit, sometime afterwards instituted between Galfridus de Prendergast and Paganus de Hynteberg, concerning an estate in the county of Limerick, was decided in 1278, by wager of battle within the walls of this town, when, the appellant's champion succeeding, the defendant's (William de Alneto), was adjudged recreant, and subjected to a fine, while the lands in dispute were immediately assigned to the former(a). A pipe-roll return of 1282,

(a) The proceedings on this occasion are recorded in a Plea Roll of 4 Edw. I., in the Exchequer. Another of 8 Edw. I. records a similar wager of battle in Dublin, between Osbert Furlong and Laurence Cas; and appeals of treason, on the same principle, became at last so frequent among the inhabitants of the Pale, that Parliament was obliged to interfere to repress them, as noticed *post* at 1460; this legislative interposition being then more especially necessitated by an appeal of treason, which the Earl of Ormond brought against the Prior of Kilmainham, in 1446, when a day was appointed for its determination at Smithfield, then the usual scene of such barbarous conflicts. On this occasion it is recorded, that, while Ormond obtained permission to remove to the neighbourhood of Smithfield "for his breathing and more ease," and to be trained for the encounter; the Prior, no less resolved, submitted himself to learn the passes of arms from Philip Trehare, a fishmonger of London, who received a gratuity from the King, as

preserved in Bermingham Tower, states, that the Earl of Ormond, who then had the prisage of the wines of Drogheda, had received out of that branch of his income, for the sixteen preceding years, the sum of £576. The number of tons, to which he was entitled, is stated at 288, i. e. one before the mast and one behind, so that £2 per ton appears to have been the valuation.

Mr. Wills, in his "Lives of Illustrious Irishmen" (a valuable and candid work), in noticing Giolla Roe O'Reilly, who succeeded to the government of the principality of East Brefsny, on the death of his brother, Matthew O'Reilly, in 1293, says, "he was learned, prudent, brave, and victorious, and extended his territory from Drogheda to Rathcroghan, in the county of Roscommon." About the same time Ralph Kelly, who was afterwards advanced by the Pope to the archdiocese of Cashel, was born in this town, "a prelate of great learning and approved virtue." It was in the interval of his government of the province, that a Parliament was held at Kilkenny, which granted a subsidy to support the exigences of

the Issue Roll states, "in consideration of the pains and attendance undergone by him at the King's special command, in instructing the Prior of Kilmainham in certain points of arms." This species of profane appeal to heaven continued, however, to be the law of the land, and even so late as 1815, the wager of battle was pleaded in the Irish Court of King's Bench. An Act, however, passed the Legislature immediately after (59 Geo. III c. 46), abolishing appeals of murder, treason, felony, &c.

the State, but he opposed its being levied within Munster, convened an assembly of his suffragans, and, with their concurrence, actually forbad its payment, under a penalty of loss of benefices to the clergy, and excommunication to the laity, grounding their opposition on the privileges secured to the Church by the Magna Charta of Ireland. The form of excommunication, as fulminated at that time, is preserved in that valuable record "the Red Book of the Exchequer," now lodged in the office of the Chief Remembrancer in Dublin (f. 27). It was an ecclesiastical sanction frequently resorted to in Ireland. (See Mr. Hardiman's truly valuable comment on the Statute of Kilkenny, in the second volume of the Tracts of the Irish Archæological Society, p. 31, *et seq.*) Archbishop Kelly was, however, found guilty on information exhibited against him, and compelled to submit; but the event is the more to be noted, as evincing how unpopular or how enfeebled English power had become. It was the precise period from which may be dated the frequent repetition on record of "English rebels," as not less opposed to government than the class before denounced as "Irish enemies."

In 1295, King Edward, having by mandate directed his Justiciary, John Wogan, to convene the military available forces of Ireland, for service in the Scottish war, amongst those whose obedience was thereupon required, according to their respective tenures, were, of this vicinity, Geoffrey de Geneville, Theobald de Verdon, Walter de Lacy, William

Cadell, &c. In 1300, a merchant burgess, who had brought over to King Edward, then at Kirkcudbright, eighty casks of wine, from the Mayor and Commons of Drogheda, received of the royal bounty, the sum of 13s. 4d., towards defraying the expense of his return, while 17s. 6d. was at the same time paid for the charges of the master and five sailors of a ship that had carried flour hence to Workington, and an additional allowance of 4s. 6d. was afterwards given for the costs of their maintenance during three days(a). In the following year, John Roche was appointed purveyor in this district, with special commission to export thence, corn, wine, and other provisions to King Edward in Scotland. In truth, the districts of Meath and Louth that surrounded Drogheda, were at this period, and continued for centuries to be the granary of England, Scotland, Wales, and even more distant countries, so that at some periods it was found necessary to control this exportation, as by an Act of the Parliament of Dublin, 11 & 12 Edw. IV. (unprinted). Horses, hawks, and falcons, were also an extensive source of traffic from Ireland.

In 1301, an action was tried before the Justices in Eyre, in this town, which, as it singularly illustrates the rival legislations that distracted Ireland at the time, seems worthy of insertion here. It is cited by Sir John Davis, in that able summary which

(a) Expence Book of Edward the First.

he gives of Irish History, from the time of Henry the Second to that of James the First, entitled "Historical Relations," &c. "Thomas le Botiller brought an action of detinue against Robert de Almain, for certain goods. The defendant pleaded that he is not bound to answer the plaintiff, because he is an Irishman, and not of privileged blood; and the said Thomas replied that he is an Englishman, and he prayed that this might be inquired by the county. The jury being accordingly sworn, say upon their oaths, that the said Thomas is an Englishman, therefore it is considered that he should recover," &c. The privileged bloods or septs were the five royal families of the provinces of Ireland, with Meath, viz. the O'Neills of Ulster, O'Melaghlin of Meath, O'Conors of Connaught, O'Briens of Thomond, and Mac Murroughs of Leinster. Mr. O'Connell, in his recent "Memoir of Ireland, Native and Saxon," comments, in the ardour of his Irish feeling, upon the above case, and another similar from the Rolls of 28 Edward III. in the following terms: "These records demonstrate, that the Irishman had no protection for his property, because, if the plaintiff in either case had been declared by the jury to be an Irishman, the action would be barred, though the injury was not denied upon the record to have been committed. The validity of the plea in point of law was also admitted, so that, no matter what injury might be committed upon the real or personal property of an Irishman, the courts of law afforded him no spe-

cies of remedy." This truly lamentable state of government, the existence of which the coldest and most dispassionate historian must admit, is not, however, to be attributed exclusively to the policy of the early English legislation. It should be remembered, that the title of the Earl of Chepstow to the kingdom of Leinster, rested upon the English common law of inheritance; he had married the sole child and heiress of its petty prince, Mac Murrough, and thus acquired, on her father's decease, the absolute property thereof, according to that law, but in utter repugnance to the institutions and usages of Ireland; the introduction of the English law was, therefore, necessitated for the acquisition and maintenance of his extensive possessions, while he felt also, that it was utterly untenable as such, independent of the great feudal link that would at once connect it with the sovereignty of England; he therefore willingly obeyed the summons of Henry the Second, when, jealous of his success, and fearful of his disobedience, that Sovereign required his instant presence before him; upon that occasion, the Earl, repeating his professions of allegiance, made an absolute surrender of his Irish territories, which Henry immediately thereupon restored to him, to hold thenceforth in fee, but as tenant "in capite" under the English Crown. While English law became, consequently, of necessary establishment and adoption within the bounds of the Pale, the native Irish beyond these bounds, as sturdily adhered (as might be expected) to their

own Brehon code, and would only be judged thereby; it might, therefore, be deemed an unproductive policy, to permit them, as they sometimes sought, to obtain the benefit of English law where it was for their advantage, without requiring them, in reciprocity, to relinquish the irreconcilable peculiarities of their own; a conclusion which is even better evinced by the record of the 4th year of Edward the Second, which Mr. O'Connell also cites from Davis, to support his next position, "that an Irishman was equally unprotected in his person as in his property." That record furnishes an express instance of a defendant relying upon the right to tender the eric or fine which the Brehon law sanctioned, as a satisfaction for murder, in his exculpation, especially as the crime was, in that case, committed in the remote parts of Waterford, without the Pale. The subsequent remarks and proofs of Mr. O'Connell to this point, seem open to the same explanation, and refer to trials that took place outside the Pale, where the Judges in Eyre were directed, as it was repeatedly besought by the natives, to conform their judgments as much as possible to the national usages. The five royal septs were, however at once, as above, admitted and made little short of denizens, while other individuals were, on professing an unreserved allegiance, allowed to take out "a license to use the English law," and be thenceforth as on an equality in civil privileges with the five septs. The number of this class was, however, decidedly very small, as the great

patentees, in derogation of the royal policy and national union, discouraged such applications, under the impression that they would be injurious to their own interests and possessions. The trial which led to these observations having occurred at Drogheda, rendered this explanation, rather than defence of the state of the time, essential for the illustration of the period. Those Brehon laws, it will be remembered, were the code which Spencer defines "to have been a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeared great show of equity, in determining the right between party and party, but in many things repugnant quite both to God's laws and man's;" and yet, as Blackstone shows, "they continued to be of force in some of the remoter parts of Ireland, even in the reign of Elizabeth." Every district that remained Irish had its Brehon, and the office was hereditary in certain families, as the Mac Egans, O'Dorans, O'Tooles, Mac Fimbises, O'Kellys, Mac Clanchys, &c. It should be here added, that in accordance with the above views, when, soon after the accession of Edward the Second, the Magnates of Ireland petitioned the king, that they might be allowed to participate as subjects in the privileges of Englishmen, Edward remitted them to their native Parliament, who returned for answer, that without material injury to the King, and to his Government, the petition could not be complied with.

At this time, the Knights Templars were seized

of certain tithes issuing out of this locality, and in 1304, John of Kilsaran was subpœnaed by the Master of that Order, to give in his accounts while acting as their receiver, as well of the tithes of Drogheda, as of those of Kilsaran, Gernonstown, Rochestown, Atherdee, and Keppock. Richard de Bereford, Treasurer of Ireland, Walter l'Enfant, and his colleagues, then presided as Justices in Eyre in Drogheda(*a*). It may be here remarked, that in every Roll of the ancient Irish Parliaments, the first Act was usually one to confirm the privileges and liberties of Holy Church. Tithes were, in this view, especially enforced. They appear to have been very partially known in Ireland before the English invasion, but after that they became a constant subject of endowment and legislative sanction, and were especially enforced by the eighth section of the Statute of Kilkenny.

In 1308, certain treasury payments were ordered, for the purveyors who had purchased corn, wine, and victuals in Drogheda, at the Louth side, and exported same to Scotland for the service of the war

(*a*) This Richard de Bereford had, at the same time, commission, with others, to oversee the weirs on the Liffey, between Dublin and the Salmon Leap, and to inquire, on oath, whether said weirs had been used by any, and if so, by whom, in any manner different from the rights of usage; and to abate all nuisances. He was afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, while Walter l'Enfant, his associate in this notice, was subsequently appointed Governor of the County and Castle of Carlow.

there ; while the Mayor and bailiffs of the town at that side received the royal command, not to permit the exportation of corn, wine, victuals, or arms, to foreign parts, without special license. In the same year, Richard, Earl of Ulster, as it were in defiance of the ill-chosen favourite of Edward the Second, Peter Gaveston, then Viceroy of Ireland, held a Court at Trim, in Whitsuntide, where, having dubbed two of the de Lacys Knights, he marched to Drogheda, with the avowed intention of encountering the Lord Lieutenant, but, on better consideration, returned without further prosecuting his design. In the following year, a branch of the Brown family was settled in this town, one of whom, William Brown, and his children lawfully begotten, had liberty to use the English law. In this latter year, the following personages of this vicinity had special writs of summons to the Parliament of Kilkenny, Simon Feypo, Richard Taaffe, William Taaffe, Henry le Fleming, Thomas le Tayllur, Simon de Geneville, Nigel le Brun, Walter de Lacy, Hugh de Lacy, Walter de Cusack, Richard le Savage, and Milo de Swords. In 1310, the Mayor, Commons, and Bailiffs of Drogheda, on the Louth side, were fined, for affording sanctuary to certain murderers, and especially to the murderer of Jordan, the chaplain of Hugh de Lacy. In the same year, the king issued his mandate to the bailiff and seneschal of Depree, in Normandy, to withdraw a caption, which he had made by reprisal, on the goods of Michael Trim, a burgess of Drogheda. At this

time, a rendezvous of shipping was directed to take place here, for the service of the war still continuing in Scotland.

In 1312, Nicholas de Verdon was arraigned at Drogheda, for resisting the king's authority in the county of Louth, and vicinity of this town. The indictment stated that his brother, Robert de Verdon, with others of the county Louth, as well English as Irish, had publicly appeared in arms against the king, and despoiled not only the lands of the Abbot of Mellefont, but those of the king at Ardee, and those of the lord of Louth, which he held of the king, that they exacted homage and tribute from the king's subjects, until the Lord Justice, on deep consideration, collected a body of hobillers in Dublin, and sent a detachment thereof to guard the king's town of Ardee, where, however, the arrival of such a body was so unwelcome, that the king's lieges there suffered more from their accession than they had from the original spoilers. That thereupon the Lord Justice, leaving the greater part of his forces in Dublin, proceeded with a few to Drogheda, where the commonalty of the county besought him to return, and that they would keep the peace at their own proper charges; and the said Nicholas, and Milo de Verdon another brother of his, solemnly engaged to subdue the rebels, or at least to remove them from the county of Louth; that a royal commission was accordingly given to them for that purpose, and the Lord Justice returned to Dublin; that before the

knowledge of this agreement reached Ardee, Nicholas Avenel knight, Patrick de Roche, Walter de Neville, and others, who had been sent, as before mentioned, to protect that town, hearing that the insurgents had taken possession of that of Louth, hastened thither to dislodge them, bearing before them the unfurled banner of the king, when the said Nicholas de Verdon, taking the part of the rebels and abetting their proceedings, with an armed force as well of English as Irish from the town of Dundalk and its vicinage, attacked the royal force, resisted the king's standard, and slew the said Nicholas Avenel, Patrick de Roche, and others of their company, although the said offenders well knew they came there in the king's service; and they likewise took prisoners the said Walter de Neville, John Tallon, and Richard de Lynet, and detained them in gaol; made spoil of horses and arms to the value of £100; and chased the routed royalists into Ardee. —Nicholas de Verdon defended himself against this charge, on the grounds, that after he had received the royal commission, he proceeded with the *posse comitatus* to Dundalk, to parley with the insurgents, that, while he was engaged in inducing them to surrender, he saw the town of Louth, and other towns and villages thereabout, on fire; whereupon he proceeded thither with the posse, and, finding that the conflagration was caused by the said Nicholas Avenel, Patrick de Roche, and their adherents, a conflict ensued, in which the unfortunate consequences

complained of occurred, but which, on the part of the said Nicholas de Verdon, were, as it was relied upon, the result of his anxiety and exertions to prevent incendiariism and robbery. The Lord Justice, thereupon, desirous that the affair should be thoroughly examined into, held a full council of the king's advisers, associating with them the Earl of Ulster and other Magnates, and a day was appointed for said Nicholas de Verdon to appear at Dublin, and answer to the charge, while it was also granted, that, if the said Robert de Verdon, Walter de Pulle, and their accomplices would freely surrender themselves to the discretion of the court, on the pledge of safety to life and limb, that then Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, president of the Court, should have power to receive them, and commit them to safe custody in the Castle of Dublin. On the appointed day Nicholas de Verdon appeared before the Court, and defended himself as he had theretofore done in Drogheda, adding, that he did not bring Robert de Verdon and his adherents to the said conflict, with the intention of doing injustice, but to resist incendiariism and robbery, and of this he put himself on the country; he likewise relied that he also carried the king's standard, and that he could not believe it was a true royal banner that was borne by incendiaries. The following individuals, adherents of said Robert de Verdon, surrendered themselves at the same time, on the faith of the amnesty so offered to them, viz., Walter de la Pulle, Roger de Clinton,

Adam, son of John de Cusack, Simon Dodd, Robert Cassels, John le Fleming of Meath, Simon Cockey, John le Fleming de Trivet, Richard le Blond, Richard Clarke, James le White, Ralph Hunt, John de Pippard, Henry Serle, Adam de Serleston, Richard Hunt, Bertram Hunt, Adam, son of Simon Dillon of Donaghmain, Adam Jordan, Peter Daniel, Philip Mac Shane, Robert de Verdon, Thomas Brun, Roger Gernon of Coly, John Gernon, John de Cruys, Roger Woodford, Richard Goodman, Adam Knott, John Brocas, Nicholas Fitz Thomas, the tanner; Roger Goodman, Peter Bacon, William, the son of Elias the tanner; Adam Lewis, John Byrt, and Thomas Boyt, &c., all of whom were thereupon committed to Dublin Castle.

It may be here allowable, in reference to the foregoing notice of so many members of this very ancient family of Louth, the De Verdons, to furnish a few particulars of their pedigree and achievements. Bertram de Verdon, the first of the race who settled in Ireland, arrived there in the company of Prince John, soon after which he was appointed Seneschal of Ireland, and obtained the barony of Dundalk, with the lordship of Clonmore, and other estates in the maritime portion of the county Louth, up to the mouth of the Boyne; he thereupon constituted his burgages in Drogheda, on the north side of that river, and more formally incorporated the borough of Dundalk, and founded the Priory for Crossbearers there. Nicholas, his son, succeeded to his

estates. This Nicholas, according to the fashion of the piety of that day, granted all the tithes of the two knights' fees, in the first castle precinct he should erect on the lands in his possession in the county Louth, to the Abbey of St. Thomas of Dublin. His daughter and only child, Rosia, about the year 1225, at the special request of King Henry(a), intermarried with Theobald le Botiller, the issue of which union was John de Verdon, who, marrying Margaret, a co-heiress of Walter de Lacy, acquired a moiety of Meath palatinate. He bore the name of his mother, as did his descendants; founded the Grey Friary of Dundalk, and left Theobald de Verdon, his eldest son, who had various royal summonses, and in 1282 more especially was required to attend a muster at Rhudlann, against the Welch, on which occasion he acknowledged the service of two knights' fees and a half, in the Marches of Ireland, being a moiety of the inheritance of Walter de Lacy; and of one knight's fee due for his lands in England. In 1288 he was besieged in the Castle of Athlone, by Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, commonly called the Red Earl, who pretended title to the lordship of Meath. This Theobald was styled Constable of Ireland, and, dying early in the reign of Edward the Second, left a son, Theobald de Verdon, junior, who had frequent and early summonses to the Parliaments of England; he had a brother, Milo, while Nicholas and Robert, the subjects of the above no-

(a) Rot. Claus. Henr. III. in Turr. Lond.

tice, appear to have been his cousins. Nicholas, previous to this act of disaffection, had summons, and sat as a peer in an Irish Parliament; and, on the royal reconciliation, obtained a grant from Edward the Second, then at York, of the manor of Maundevillestown, county Louth, which had vested in the Crown, on the surrender of Ralph Pipard.—To return to Theobald de Verdon, junior, he had livery of his father's estates in 1310, with a royal mandate for the due payment of the ancient annuity, which his father and all his ancestors had received out of the town of Drogheda and the castle of Blackagh. The serjeantship of the Lordship or county of Meath was then found by inquisition to belong to him, with other rights within that liberty, which he acquired by marrying one of the co-heiresses of Hugh de Lacy. In 1313, he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland; when leaving England, where was then his residence, he empowered the Bishop of Bath and Wells to present to all his churches in that kingdom. In 1314 he was summoned to attend the English Parliament, to treat, as is expressed in the writ, with the king, his prelates and nobles, about the affairs of Ireland, and other of the king's arduous and urgent concerns. At the close of that year he died, leaving no issue male, whereupon his portion of the De Lacy estates vested in his daughters that were married to noblemen, who, as Baron Finglas remarks in his Breviate, "dwelled still in England, and took such profit as they could get for awhile, and sent small defence for

their lands in Ireland, so as within few years after, all their portions were lost except certain manors within the English Pale, which Thomas Baron of Slane, Sir Robert Hollywood, Sir John Cruis, and Sir John Bellew, purchased in King Richard the Second's time, and this hath been the decay of half of Meath, which did not obey the king's laws this hundred years and more"(a). At the time of said Theobald's decease, the above Nicholas of 1311 was the male heir and representative of this ancient family.

(a) It was a remarkable concurrence in the destinies of Ireland, that the male line of Strongbow also failed, and the marriages of his female issue into English families, assigned his noble inheritance equally to the ruinous pillage of an absentee proprietary. His only daughter, Isabel, was for fourteen years a ward of Henry the Second. Her husband, William Earl Marshal, was in her right created Earl of Pembroke in 1199; he died in 1219, she in 1221, and was buried in Tintern Abbey, in Monmouthshire. They had five sons: viz., William, who married Eleanor, sister of Henry the Third, and died in 1231, as did his brother Richard in 1234; Gilbert married in 1235, Margaret, daughter of William, King of Scotland, and died by a fall from his horse in 1242; Walter, the fourth son, died in Wales in 1245, as did the fifth, Anselm, in the same year. The daughters of William and Isabel were also five: 1, Maud, who successively married Hugh Earl of Norfolk, William Earl of Warren, and Walter Lord Dunstanvill; 2, Joan, married Warren, Lord Montchensy, the richest Baron in England; 3, Isabel became the wife, first of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, and afterwards of Richard Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans; 4, Sybil, married William Earl of Ferrers and Darby, as did 5, Eve, William de Brees, Lord of Brecknock; and amongst these noble coparceners, on the failure of the male line of their father, partition was made by deed, dated at Woodstock, 3rd May, 1247.

Of some of his accomplices the following notices seem not irrelevant: Walter de la Pulle was afterwards Escheator of Ireland; Roger de Clinton was of a family who had followed the fortunes of De Courcy, and settled in the county Louth, at the close of the twelfth century; Hugh de Clinton, a member of the same line, was sheriff of that county in 1301; Adam de Cusack expiated his offences on the field of Faughart, by his gallant resistance of Edward Bruce; John de Pipard, although committed in this feud, enjoyed the previous confidence of royalty, had in 1295, a writ for military service directed to him, and in 1297, a mandate to appear in London for the purpose of receiving and obeying the king's commands concerning warlike duties to be performed in parts beyond the seas; of Roger and John Gernon it appears, that their subsequent services in the engagement against Edward Bruce, near Dundalk, had acquired for them also, such favour, that Roger de Mortimer, Lord Justice of Ireland, was ordered to reprise them out of the escheated estates of the enemy, "in order that they might be the more prompt in their allegiance in future;" accordingly the said Lord Justice directed that a patent should be made out to Roger Gernon, in fee of the castle and manor of Taghobreck, which had been the property of Hugh de Lacy, an adherent of Bruce, and therefore escheated to the king.

In the following year (it may be mentioned), one Robert Oliver was also arraigned at Drogheda, as

an accomplice of said Robert de Verdon; on which occasion he was especially charged with predatory acts at Grangethy, Ballygrayney, Collon, Ardpatrick, Athglass, Rathesker, Mollary, Stackbannon, Arthurstown, Drumcar, &c., and with spoil of cattle to the value of £1000, and upwards; of which charges he was found guilty, and delivered as a convict to the custody of the mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda at the Louth side, by whom he was committed to gaol, but afterwards released on his paying a fine, and inducing the aforesaid Nicholas de Verdon to become surety to the extent of forty shillings, for his future good behaviour; Milo de Verdon to the amount of twenty shillings; and Hugh, a burgess of Drogheda, with William Slane, also of Drogheda, to the amount of ten shillings each(a). In the same year, on the petition of "the whole commonalty of the free tenants and others of the county Louth," reciting, that Robert de Verdon and his aforesaid adherents, had so opposed themselves to the royal authority, as if they designed "to appropriate that county to themselves by conquest;" yet that certain individuals of said commonalty had been induced to supply those rebels with provisions; the said commonalty nevertheless obtained a pardon of their so acknowledged offences, on payment of a fine of £50; and similar indulgence was extended to the accomplices of Robert de Verdon himself, with an exception of those who actually slew Nicholas Avenel and the other royalists(b).

(a) Rot. Coron. in Berm. Turr. (b) Id.

About this time was born here William, hence called "of Drogheda," a celebrated scholar. He received his education in Oxford, where he became very eminent for his knowledge of the civil and canon law, arithmetic and geometry, and was a public reader of the former in that University. He is said to have been the author of a Book called "Summa Aurea" (which is extant in Manuscript in Caius College, Cambridge), as also of "Tractatus de Occultis." Bale makes mention of him, but erroneously classes him amongst English writers.

In or about the year 1314 the king became so reconciled to Sir Theobald de Verdon, as to grant to this town, on his petition, the privileges of a market and fair, which subsequent monarchs confirmed, with many incidental advantages. In the same year a very large body of the gentry of Ireland, with their retainers, embarked hence on the Scottish expedition. It may be permitted here to mention their names as set forth in an ancient record.

O'Conor Don of Conaght.	M'Mahon, of Uriel.
O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell.	Maguire, of Lough Erne.
O'Cahan, of Fernettrue.	O'Reilly.
O'Neill, of Tyrone.	O'Farrell.
O'Bryan.	O'Conor, of Conaght.
O'Flin.	O'Brien, of Thomond.
M'Guinness.	M'Carthy, of Desmond.
O'Hanlon, of Eirthrer.	M'Murrough.
	O'Dowell.

O'Conor, of Offaley.	David de Roche.
O'Dempsey.	Nicholas le Fitzmaurice,
Mac Gill Phadruig.	Kerry.
O'Murrough.	Edmund le Botiller.
O'Kelly, of Hy Maine.	John le Fitz Thomas.
O'Melaghlin, of Half	John de Barry.
Meath.	John le Poer.
George de la Roche.	Walter de Lacy.
Richard Tuite.	Hugh de Lacy.
John de Brunton.	Arnold le Poer.
Baldwin le Fleming.	Peter le Poer, knight.

In the same year (1314) John de Parys was slain at Drogheda (ad Pontem), as recorded in Grace's "Annals of Ireland." This, it would seem, was the John de Parys who had, on royal summons, attended, with other Irish nobles, King Edward the First into Scotland in 1302.

In the immediately ensuing years the county of Louth was devastated by Edward Bruce, on the occasion of his invasion of Ireland, until, in 1317, the Lord de Bermingham, at the head of the English and Irish forces, encountering him at Faughart, near Dundalk, "a fatal place," says Sir John Davis, "to the enemies of the Crown of England," effected the total overthrow of the invader. The most signal and effective achievement of the day was accomplished by John Malpas, a native of Drogheda, who led from this town, in aid of English government, a choice band of soldiers. "The English," says Pembridge, in his Annals, "gave the onset; John Malpas and

Edward Bruce fought hand to hand, the valiant Scot
fell before his opponent, who, himself pierced with
mortal wounds, sunk a victor in death on the corse
of his prostrate enemy."

The following notices of this expedition, from
Barbour's Metrical History of Robert Bruce (book x.)
throw an interesting light upon this memorable
event of his brother's invasion of Ireland.

"The Earl of Carrick, Sir Edward,
That stouter was than a libbard,
And had no will to be in peace,
Thought that Scotland too little was,
Till his brother and him also ;
Therefore to purpose gan he ta,
That he of Ireland would be king.
Therefore he send and had treating
With Irishry of Ireland,
That in their levity took in hand
Of all Ireland to make him king,
With this, that he with hard fighting
Might overcome the Englishmen,
That in the land were winnand then,
And they should help with all their might.
And he that heard them make such height,
Until his heart had great liking,
And with the consent of the king
Gathered him men of great bounty,
And at Ayre syne shipped he,
In till the next month of May,
To Ireland held he straight his way ;
He had then in his company
The Earl Thomas that was worthy.

* * * * *

And far out dread or effray
 In two battails (boats) they took their way
 Toward Carrickfergus, it to sea ;
 But the Lords of that country,
 Mandeville, Bysset, and Logane,
 Their men assembled eurilkane ;
 The Savages were also there,
 And when they assembled were,
 They were well near twenty thousand.

* * * * *

And in that battle was ta'en or slain,
 All whole the flower of Ulsester.

* * * * *

Syne to Cragfergus are they gone,
 And in the town has innys ta'en ;
 The castle well was stuffed then,
 Off new with victual, and with men.
 Thereto they set a siege in hy,
 Many eschew full apertly
 Was made, while there the siegers lay,
 Which by truce at last took they.
 When that the folk of Ulsester,
 To his peace wholly coming were,
 Then Sir Edward would take in hand
 To ride forth farther in the land.
 Of the kings of that country,
 There came to him, and made fealty,
 Well ten or twelve, as I heard say,
 But they held him short while their fay ;
 For two of them, one Mac Gullane,
 And one other called Macartane,
 With set a pace, in till his way,
 Where him behoved ned away,
 With ten thousand of men with spears,
 And also many of their archers,
 An all the cattle of the land

Were drawn thither to warand.

Men call that place Innismallane,

In all Ireland straighter is none.

* * * * *

But maugre these they won the pass.

* * * * *

At Kilsaggart Sir Edward lay,

And wellsom he has heard say,

That at Dundalk was assembly

Made of the Lords of that country.

There was first, Sir Richard of Clare,

That in all Ireland Lieutenant

Was, of the King of England;

The Earl of Desmond was there,

And the Earl also of Kildare.

* * * * *

And when that Sir Richard of Clare,

And other Lords that there were,

Wist that the Scottish men so near,

With their battails, coming were,

They took to counsel, that that night,

For it was late, they would not fight,

But on the morn, in the morning,

Well soon after the sun rising,

They should isch forth, all that their war;

Therefore, that night they did no more,

But harboured them on either party.

That night the Scottish company

Were watched right well all at right,

And in the morn, when day was lit,

In two battails they them arrayed,

They stood with banners all displayed."

* * * * *

The poem proceeds to detail at considerable length, the progress of this invader through Ireland,

and how his brother, King Robert Bruce, came over with an army to his assistance, and their march from Carrickfergus southward :

“ The King, and all that there were,
Rode furthwart in better array,
And nearer together than erst did they.
Through all the land plainly they raid,
They found none that them obstacle made;
They raid ewyn forouth Drochendra,
And forouth Dewellyne syne alsua,
An to give battail nane thai fund;
Syne wen they southward in the land.
And right till Kinrycke [Limerick] held their way,
That is, the southmaist town perfay,
That in Ireland may founden be.”

&c. &c. &c.

Thus, the narrative records the Bruce and all his actions, until his discomfiture and death on the field of Faughart. Some other particulars of this invasion, connected with Drogheda, are mentioned in “Grace’s Annals,” which have been lately published by the Irish Archæological Society, with the learned editorship of the Reverend Richard Butler of Trim. The account of the fight at Carrickfergus there given, says : “ Thomas Mandeville, with more men from Drogheda, attacked the Scots in Carrickfergus, and put them to flight, having killed about thirty on Maundy Thursday; and again attacking them on Easter eve, he slew sixty of them, but fell himself in the conflict, fighting in his own country, and for his own rights.” In July of the same year,

“eight ships, laden at Drogheda, to be sent to those who were besieged at Carrickfergus, were stopped by the Earl of Ulster, as a guarantee for the deliverance of William de Burgh, who was a prisoner with the Scots.”

In consequence of the victory so obtained by Sir John de Bermingham, King Edward the Second, in his Parliament, in consideration of such his services, confirmed to him, and his heirs male, an annual rent-charge of £20, chargeable on the county of Louth, together with the name and honour of Earl of Louth, in right of which, he sat in the Parliament of Dublin, in 1324; and for the better support of said honour and name, his Majesty further granted to him the residue of the issues of said county, with the whole county itself, and the office of sheriff of the same, and all things thereto appertaining, and the liberty of said county, to have and to hold for the term of his life, with the knights' fees, advowsons of churches, chapels, abbeys, priories, hospitals, and other religious houses in said county, and all liberties thereto appertaining, in as full a manner as Thomas Earl of Kildare holds his county of Kildare; excepting only pleas of rape, offences on the highway, arson, and treasure-trove, and this town of Drogheda with its appurtenances; and also excepting the homages and services of the king's nephews and nieces, and all cross lands, as in the grants of other counties, with reversion to the Crown on the decease of said John de Berming-

ham(a). He had also a grant of the manor of Ar-dee, with the knights' fees, advowsons of churches, and all other rights thereto belonging, and which manor vested in the Crown by the surrender of Ralph Pippard, who theretofore held same by the service of one whole knight's fee.

The ancient and noble family, from which this individual sprang, and to which he gave much additional lustre, was of English extraction, and took their name from the town of Bermingham. Peter de Bermingham, the first recorded member of the house, was steward to Gervase Paganell; Baron of Sudley, of whom he held no less than nine knights' fees, in the time of Henry the First. William, the son of this Peter, was possessed of the town, which gave name to the family in the time of Henry the Second, and continued in that family till the reign of Henry the Eighth, when it came to John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland. Robert de Bermingham, of this line, attending Strongbow to Ireland, had large possessions given to him by that Earl. From him descended the above John de Bermingham, who was knighted in 1312 by Roger de Mortimer, then Lord Justice of Ireland. In 1321, he was one of the Lords Justices, and in 1325 founded the Franciscan friary of Totmoy in Offaley. The honour of the Earldom so acquired as above, died with him. It is recorded of his nephew, Lord William

(a) Rot. in Turr. Lond.

de Bermingham, that with his suite, he, in 1331, took up his summer residence in the wood of Graignemagh, on which occasion, Eustace le Poer married the daughter of the aforesaid Earl of Louth. Lord William, in the same year, relieved the castle of Arklow when besieged by the O'Tooles, and defeated them with considerable slaughter. On the death of Lord Walter, his lineal descendant (a debtor of the King), his estates, and with them his armour, were taken into his Majesty's hands, but the King immediately conveyed all the armour, specifying each piece distinctly by name, and its value, to Sir Robert de Preston, who was guardian of Lord Walter's son and heir, in trust, that Sir Robert should deliver same to him on his attaining full age. The extent of Walter's possessions at this time, is proved by the fact, that on his demise, royal writs to seize his lands and possessions were directed to the sheriffs of the several counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, Connaught, and Roscommon.

In the year previous to this battle of the Faughart, about Whitsuntide, the Lord Justice, Roger de Mortimer, marched to Drogheda, and thence to Trim, where he commanded the de Lacys to attend him. These proud nobles, however, not only refused his requisition, but murdered its bearer, Sir Hugh Crofts, an indignity which the Lord Justice was fain to avenge, by wasting the territory, and seizing on the property of the aggressors, slaying many of their ad-

herents, and banishing themselves into Connaught, when he publicly denounced them as traitors, and so returned to Dublin by the way of Drogheda. In the following year, the same Viceroy caused John de Lacy to be "pressed to death" at Trim, because he would not plead to the indictment against him for the above offences, and immediately afterwards he returned to England^(a). In 1320, in consequence of the Earl of Kildare, then Lord Justice, being unable personally to attend at the assizes to be held at Drogheda, the King directed Walter de Cusack, and Stephen Roche, to adjourn same. [Of the former it may be mentioned, that he had previously distinguished himself in the legal and legislative annals of his country. Various summonses had been directed to him, requiring his military and parliamentary services, and especially to attend a Parliament at Kilkenny, as one of the Magnates or Peers of Ireland. In the same year (1311), he was one of the Justices in Eyre of the county Dublin, when he received a very extraordinary mandate, illustrative of the state of the law in Ireland, and in confirmation of what was before remarked. It recites, that the people of that county complained, that pleas were adjudged to their prejudice, according to the law and custom of England, and not according to the law and custom of Ireland, and they besought a remedy; it was, therefore, a direction to the Justices in Eyre, to suspend the con-

(a) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 98.

sideration of any pleas which could be tried according to the custom and law of Ireland, before the Justice of the Bench, "his Majesty not willing," as is therein specially stated, "that the customs hitherto rightly used in Ireland should be changed." In 1318, he paid a fine of £100, for having married Amicia, the widow of Nigel le Brun, without first obtaining a royal license. This was a large sum in the estimate of money at that day. The Statute of the celebrated session held at Kilkenny, forty-two years afterwards, yet further interdicted "alliances by marriage, gossipred, fosterage of children, concubinage, or by amour, or in any other manner, between the English and Irish." Walter de Cusack is also recorded to have discharged a further sum of £178, as arrearages of rent, for the manors of Ardee, Mandevillestown, and Donaghmain, which he held under the Crown. By a second wife, Johanna, daughter of Sir Richard Tuite, he acquired the manor of Scrine. In 1324, however, he was accused of being an adherent of Roger de Mortimer, when it was alleged against him, that he had charge of that nobleman's war horses, and kept them in readiness for his arrival in Ireland].

In 1322, Richard de Preston, and William, his brother, of Drogheda, were commanded to submit themselves to the orders of Robert de Leyburn, Knight, who was appointed to the command of the fleet against the Scots, and the Mayor and true men of this town received a similar mandate. In 1324,

by writ reciting, that the King of France was collecting a formidable army, to invade King Edward's French possessions in Aquitain, and also a large fleet in the harbours of Normandy, to harass the British subjects and merchants at sea, the townsmen of Drogheda, at both sides of the river, were directed to fit out and man all ships within their power, for the royal service; and to arrest any subjects of the French king that might be found within their bailiwicks, together with their ships and goods, but without any subtraction of their property, until further order, it not being the intention of his majesty of England, that merchants should be damaged by any such embargo(*a*); and a similar writ was directed to the said persons, on the occasion of the rebellion of the King's own subjects in France(*b*). In the same year, on an assignment of dower to Elizabeth, widow of the aforesaid Theobald de Verdon, the right of her said husband and his ancestors, being recognized, to an annuity of 25 marks for his and their inheritance in the castle of Blackagh and town of Drogheda, she received her common law portion thereof, as well as of the other properties of said Theobald(*c*). In 1326, Simon Malpas, a relative of the individual who so distinguished himself at Faughart, and a burgess of this town, sued out pardon, on payment of a fine, for his transgression in exporting provisions hence to Scotland, during the pendency of a

(*a*) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

(*b*) Id.

(*c*) Id.

truce(a). In the same year, the prisage of wines in the harbour of this, and other seaports, was granted to James le Botiller.

In 1328, Arnold le Poer was accused by the Bishop of Ossory of heresy, at which time, the Bishop also accused Roger Outlawe, Prior of Kilmainham, as Arnold's counsellor, and a partaker of the same pernicious doctrines. Roger (relates Grace, in his Annals) asked from the Council an opportunity to clear himself, which was granted; and for three successive days proclamation was made, that if any one wished to prosecute the accusation, he should appear, but no one came forward to substantiate the charges. Pembridge, in his Annals, adds, "that when no one answered this proclamation, the Bishop obtained a royal writ, summoning 'Majores Hiberniæ,' viz. the bishops, abbots, priors, and the four mayors of the four cities, Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, and the mayor of Drogheda, and the sheriffs, seneschals, and knights of the counties, with the best county freemen, and that six examiners were thereupon chosen, in whose presence, on evidence, Roger Outlawe was acquitted." Arnold le Poer died in the lent of the same year, and was long denied the rites of Christian burial. In 1330, as is noticed in the Irish Annals, the Boyne so overflowed its channel, as to carry away all its bridges, not only the wooden, but even those of stone. In the following year, the grant of the prisage of wines here, was confirmed to

(a) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

James le Botiller, and at the same time, the citizens of Drogheda were enjoined to assist Sir Anthony de Lucy, the Lord Justice, in all matters calculated to promote the tranquillity of the country.

The latter individual, so here projected to notice, had been sheriff of Cumberland in 1318, where he distinguished himself in defending the Northern marches, and resisting the Scots. In 1324, he was commanded to hold himself in readiness to perform military service in person, for the defence of Aquitaine, and to raise all the forces he could, in addition to his contingent due by tenure. Being a person of great authority in England, he was sent over, as Sir John Davis remarks, "to work a reformation in this kingdom, by a severe course, which, in his discretion, he considered could be best effected by a vigorous prosecution of the Irishry, and a determined opposition to the insolence and insidious practices of his insincere adherents of the English race." With these, the avowed objects of his administration, it is not to be wondered at, that when he summoned, on his arrival, a Parliament to meet in Dublin, his order was neglected, and the assembly inconsiderable; it was adjourned to Kilkenny, and here, the still decreasing number of attending members gave new occasion of suspicion, whereupon, he at once arrested the Earl of Desmond, — Maundeville, Walter de Burgo, and his brother, William and Walter Bermingham, and committed them to the castle of Dublin. William Bermingham was afterwards executed, his brother

escaped only by his privilege as an ecclesiastic, and Desmond, after a long confinement, was discharged, on giving great surety and sent into England, De Lucy, during his government, also led a strong force into the country of the O'Byrnes, which he laid waste to the town of Arklow.

In the succeeding year (1332), Robert Norman endowed the Abbot of Furnes, in Lancashire, with one messuage and six shops, in addition to other possessions of the same ecclesiastic in this town. At the same time, William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, was found seized of Drogheda, the castle of Carlingford, the town of Cooly, the manor of Rath, &c.(a), all which were thereupon seized into the King's hands, by reason of the minority of said William's heir, subject to the dower of Matilda, his widow, which the King's escheator was directed to assign(b). The fiscal accounts of William Roth, as then Mayor of Drogheda at the Louth side, are preserved in the Pipe Rolls, as are various other subsequent accounts from his successors. In 1335, the following individuals were summoned from this vicinity, to attend John D'Arcy, Justiciary, with arms and horses, in his expedition to Scotland: Simon de Geneville, Nicholas de Verdon, Francis Fepo, Matthew de Bath, Elias de Assheburn, John de Wellesle, Robert Savage, O'Neill of Ulster, O'Melaghlin of Meath, O'Reilly, Robert Cruice, John Cruice of the Nall

(a) Inq. in Turr. Lond.

(b) Rymer's Fœdera.

Luke de Netterville, Milo de Verdon, Walter de la Hoyde, Walter de Leyns of Croboy, Roger Gernoun, Richard Taaffe of Liscarton, John de Hadsor, John Gernon of Killingcoole, Richard Taaffe of Castleomenaght, Gerald de Clinton, Peter de Cusack, Hugh de la Hoyde, Nicholas de la Hoyde, Thomas de Cantewell, John de Cantewell, Milo de Cogan, John de Sauvage, John de Mandeville, and Nicholas Taaffe. In the same year, the estates of the Earl of Ormond being then vested in the Crown by the law of wardship, the heir petitioned King Edward the Third for their restoration, and amongst them, for the prisage of wines in the four great towns of Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, and Limerick, of which, as he alleged, his ancestors had from time immemorial been seized, and from which privilege they took the name of Butler(*a*). In the same year, Maurice, Earl of Desmond, had a liberate of £100, as remuneration for his expenses in bringing his men at arms, hobillers, and foot soldiers, from various parts of Munster to this town, and sojourning there until ships were procured to convey himself and his army, in company with the Lord Justice, Sir John d'Arcy, to Scotland, there to oppose the King's enemies(*b*). It was on this occasion, Sir John d'Arcy, who held the Viceroyalty for life, with power to appoint a Deputy, exercised that extraordinary privilege, which, as Fynes Morrison remarks, "neither before nor after was granted to any, but some few of the royal

(*a*) Rot. Parl.

(*b*) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

blood." The person whom he selected, was Roger Outlawe, then Prior of Kilmainham, and also Chancellor of Ireland, and the patent of his appointment remains on record, as dated and sealed in this town. This Sir John, and his lineal descendants, for generations, resided in Platten, near Drogheda, where some traces of their ancient chapel and venerable mansion yet appear, but at the close of the seventeenth century, by reason of their adherence to the Stuarts, Platten, and their other estates, were swept away in the general confiscation which followed the revolution. In 1335, King Edward ordered his Escheator to assign to Matilda, the widow of William de Burgo, late Earl of Ulster, deceased, all the lands which the said Earl held in capite in England, and which were of the value of £72 4s. 8d. per annum, in recompense for certain lands and tenements in Drogheda and the county Louth, certain other premises in the barony of Ratouth, county Meath, a cantred in the county of Connaught (all which had belonged to the said Earl on the day of his death, and were worth £146 18s.), then in the hands of the King's Escheator, by reason of the minority of the heir of said Earl. Her dower had been, as it appears on inquisition, two years previously, assigned off the Irish lands.

In the year 1336, by writ, reciting that Robert de Stokes, in his passage to England with merchandize, had been captured by Scotch felons and enemies, and was detained in the castle of Dumbarton,

in the custody of M'Collum le Fleming, a Scot, constable of said castle, who demanded forty pounds worth of provisions for his ransom; it was ordered, that a collection to that amount should be made in this town, and carried thence to that castle for the deliverance of said Robert. In the following year, Maurice Fitz Thomas, Earl of Desmond, had an order for £100, for himself and his men at arms, who came from Munster to Drogheda, on their way to Scotland, and were detained there by reason of the want of shipping in that port.

In 1338, Richard de Maundeville, with a number of "Scottish felons," having entered upon the Isle of Man, with the object of conquering it, Roger Outlawe, then Governor of Ireland, as Deputy for Sir John d'Arcy, was ordered to carry over forces sufficient for the purpose of punishing the offenders, and recovering the island. Arduous negotiations for peace with the native Irish, however, retarding Outlawe's departure, Edmond Mortayn, Escheator of Ireland, and John Tyrrel were appointed to the duty, and the men of Drogheda were particularly required to come to their aid on the occasion, the muster on the Louth side being committed to Roger Daundon, Adam de Berford, and others,—that at the Meath, to John de Wilton, Thomas de Nany, Richard de la Ryver, and John de la Ryver. The Black Book of Christ's Church states, "that in the following year, 1339, on the festival of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, occurred an eclipse of the

sun, which was seen in Dublin, in the ninth hour of the day.

The Roger Outlawe mentioned in the last paragraph, was a person of considerable importance in his day. In 1318, as Prior of the House of Kilmainham, he had a royal grant to himself and his successors, of the manor of Chapelizod, in fee, saving to the Crown the knights' fees and advowsons of churches. He was afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and in 1328, and again in 1329, Lord Justice. In 1330, in the same capacity, he held a Parliament in Kilkenny. In 1336 he was entrusted with an important negotiation in Ulster, with the O'Neills, M'Cartans, and other Irishry of the country. He had also a similar commission for parleying with the O'Murroughs, O'Dempseys, O'Conors, O'Tooles, Mac Murroughs, and O'Reillys, "the King's enemies, who had risen up in arms in their districts." In 1340, he was again appointed Lord Justice, in which year he died.

In 1344, the official authorities of Drogheda, at each side of the river, were directed to make proclamation, that none but merchants should go out of Ireland, without the King's especial mandate. In 1345, an exchange of prisoners, English and Scotch, took place here, and about the same time, Nicholas Came is recorded to have paid a fine of half a mark, for the occupancy and enjoyment of the new mills

situated on the river Boyne, at the Louth side, with the appurtenances, to him and to his assigns, for three years, in manner as Reginald Irf, of Drogheda, theretofore held the same. In 1348, a malignant pestilence destroyed vast numbers here and in other towns of Ireland. Friar Clyn, in his "Annals," gives the following pathetic account of this visitation. "This year" (he writes), "chiefly in the months of September and October, great numbers of bishops and prelates, seculars and regulars, peers, and others, and in general people of both sexes, flocked together by troops, in pilgrimage to the water of Timolin, insomuch, that many thousands of souls might be seen there together for many days. Some came from devotion, but the greater number from fear of the pestilence that then raged with exceeding violence. It first broke out near Dublin, at Howth and Dalkey; it almost destroyed and laid waste the cities of Dublin and Drogheda, insomuch, that in the former alone, from the beginning of August to Christmas, 14,000 souls perished. This malady, it is said, originated in the East, and passing through the Saracens and Infidels, destroyed 8,000 of their legions. It next seized the city of Avignon, where the Roman Court then was, and here the churches and cemeteries proved so insufficient for the numbers of dead, that the Pope ordered a new cemetery to be consecrated for depositing the bodies, where, from the month of May to the anniversary of the Translation of St. Thomas, upwards of 50,000 bodies were

buried. This distemper prevailed in its fullest force during lent; scarce a single person died in one house, but it commonly swept away husband, wife, children, and servants, all together." The Annalist closes his narrative with a heaviness that seemed the foreboding of his own approaching death. "I, Friar John Clyn, of the Franciscan Order of Kilkenny, have, in this book, written the memorable things as they happened in my time, of which I was either an eye-witness, or learned them from the relation of such as were worthy of credit, and that these notable actions might not perish by time, and vanish out of the memory of our successors, seeing the many evils that encompass us, and every symptom placed as it were under a malevolent influence; expecting death amongst the dead, such things as I have heard delivered with veracity, and have strictly examined, I have reduced into writing. And, lest the writing should perish with the writer, and the work fail with the workman, I leave behind me parchment for continuing it, if any man should have the good fortune to survive this calamity, or any one of the race of Adam should escape this pestilence, to continue what I have begun."

In 1348, the King appointed Andrew de Guldef, Admiral of Ireland, and supervisor and warden of all its seaports, with power to seize and attach all the ships, provisions, and properties of the King's enemies found therein. In 1349, the long maintained contest relative to the Primatial jurisdiction,

having been most vehemently agitated between Alexander de Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, and Richard Fitz Ralph, of Armagh, the latter, under the sanction of royal authority, entered Dublin with the cross erect before him, lodged in the city three days, and openly proclaimed the privileges of his province, and the Bulls granted in his favour, in the presence of the Lord Justice of Ireland, the Prior of Kilmainham, and such of the peers as were then in town. By their influence, however, he was ultimately sent back to Drogheda, whither, many who had resisted him followed, in the terror of ecclesiastical censures, until in time they obtained forgiveness. In 1352, the King, on payment of a fine of twelve marks, gave license to certain persons therein named, to convey in mortmain, three messuages in Drogheda, with the appurtenances, on the Louth side of the river, to the abbot and monks of St. Mary's Church, of Furnes. In 1353, the staple of wool, leather, skins, and lead, for Ireland, was ordered to be kept at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, and no where else; and regulations were established for measuring and weighing same, and sealing them with the seal of the Mayor of the Staple(a). Under the authority of this office, amongst many others, Richard of Exeter, Lord of Stackallen, was sued in the Court of the Seneschal of the Liberty of Meath, for a debt due by him to Robert

(a) Rot. Plac. C. B. 21 Edw. III., in Berm. Tur.

Babe, burgess of Drogheda, and so acknowledged before Richard Hadsor, late Mayor of the Staple, and the constables of the same deputed to take recognizances of debts in the said staple(a). [The Robert Babe here mentioned, was summoned through the sheriff of Louth, to attend a Great Council, in 1373, and in a few years after was one of the Justices in Eyre; he was the founder of a line, that for many generations was settled in the county of Louth, and seised (*inter alia*) of the manor and advowson of Derver].

In the succeeding year (1354) the authorities of this town, on the Meath side, and also the overseers of the harbour, were directed to prevent the exportation of corn or fish hence, without special license first obtained. Many ships were accordingly seized with their cargoes, but the Abbot of Furnes, in Lancashire, had liberty to export large quantities of flour, oats, and meal, the produce of his farms in this neighbourhood, unaffected by the prohibition.

In 1360, a council was held in Dublin of the bishops, lords, knights, and citizens of Leinster, with the object of raising a subsidy to oppose the insurrection of Art Cavanagh. The county of Louth granted upon this occasion £20, but Adam Gernon and Henry Heyward, who were elected burgesses for Drogheda, did not comply with the king's instructions, and were, therefore, ordered to appear

(a) Plea Roll in Berm. Tower.

before the Archbishop of Dublin, together with the mayor, seneschal, and four others of the more discreet burgesses of the town. In the same year the king ordered proclamation to be made in Ireland, that no mere Irishman should be mayor, bailiff, or officer of any town within the English dominion (i. e. the Pale), nor be advanced to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion; an interdict which, in the next year, he affected by writ to qualify, as not designed to extend to any Irish clerks who had done him service, or were loyal to him.

In 1368, the available shipping of Drogheda was ordered over to Liverpool for the conveyance of William de Windsor, Lord Deputy elect, and his retinue, to Ireland; a viceroy, who in the following year convened a Parliament at Dublin, and there imposed a charge of twenty pounds on the burgesses of Drogheda, without their consent, part of which he compelled them to pay, and afterwards imprisoned the representatives of the county of Louth, for refusing to vote a proportionate subsidy. At length his oppressive conduct on these and similar occasions excited the royal resentment, and, while the authorities of Drogheda, like those of other towns, were ordered to arrest any of his suite, that might be found, absenting themselves without license, within their jurisdiction, the Deputy was himself commanded to refrain from levying his extorted talliages, subsidies, and other impositions here; and a special discharge was granted to the borough from all payments or arrears thereof,

or liability thereto(a). Various inquisitions were subsequently taken here, which are of record, and ascertain the intolerant avarice of this Lord Lieutenant. At the same period, by writ, reciting that a council was to be held in Dublin to concert measures for resisting O'Brien and the Irishry of Munster, the sheriff of Louth was commanded to hold a similar council in Drogheda, and to call all the better and more sufficient men of his county to attend it, together with six others out of every cantred within his bailiwick(b). On the great Pipe roll of 1370 is an account of the aid in the nature of customs, then recently granted in a Parliament "held before the Lord Deputy, by the prelates, magnates, and commons of Ireland, for the salvation of the said land." It was made chargeable on the following articles: "herrings, and other sea fish, great and small; salmon, wine, beef, and pork; all kinds of bran, beans, barley, oatmeal, salt, skins of horses and oxen; pilefelts, cloth, both linen and woollen, and all other merchandize." Roger de Leases was then collector thereof in the ports of Dublin, Drogheda, and the adjoining counties, and he certified the customs for the preceding year to have amounted in Dublin to £59 8s. 1d.; in Drogheda to £18 15s. 5d., and in Carlingford to £19 1s. 2d. In the same year it is recorded, that Thomas, the son of Mahon O'Reilly, Lord of Clan-mahon, "distinguished himself by the

(a) Rot. in Turr. Lond.

(b) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

impetuosity of his valour, and his successful resistance against the English; having in a short period levelled eighteen castles belonging to the Pale, and laid the country, from Drogheda to Dublin, under contribution"(a).

In 1372 a royal Commission of Inquiry sat here upon the conduct of the aforesaid William de Windsor, when it was found that he had imposed a cess of 6s. 8d. per acre, on every carucate of land in Meath, and that the number of carucates then tilled was 500. That on another occasion at Timolin, he had imposed a cess on the county Kildare, of one crannock of wheat, and one crannock of oats, on every carucate under tillage, each crannock of wheat being then worth 8s., and each crannock of oats 5s. That at a Parliament held in Dublin, in 1370, James de la Hoyde, knight, and John Fitz John of Delvin, were elected knights of the shire by the commons of Meath, being pledged to their constituents not to grant any talliage or subsidy on that county on account of its losses by the invasion of the Irishry; but yet, by coercion, and because they saw that Roger Gernon and Richard ———, knights for the county of Louth, were imprisoned for refusing to grant a talliage on that county, the said representatives of Meath did grant a subsidy of one mark from every carucate of tilled land in their county. That the said Lord Lieutenant summoned a Parliament at

(a) Wills's Lives of Illustrious Irishmen.

Beldoyle, where there were no buildings except one chapel, for the purpose of compelling the members, through want of lodgings and other inconveniences, to agree to his demands; with other charges for equally prominent features of mal-administration. Yet, in utter disregard of these serious political offences, the same Sir William was suffered, in the following year, to undertake, as Sir John Davis expresses it, "the custody, not the conquest of Ireland (for now the English made rather a defensive than an invasive war), and withal to defray the whole charge of the kingdom for £11,213 6s. 8d. as appeareth by the indenture between him and the king, remaining of record in the Tower of London. But it appeareth by that which Froissart reporteth, that Sir William de Windsor was so far from subduing the Irish, as that himself reporteth, he could never have access to understand and know their countries, although he had spent more time in the service of Ireland than any Englishman then living."

In 1373, in consequence of an existing scarcity, the sheriff of Louth, the overseer of its harbours, and the authorities of Drogheda were directed to prevent the exportation and sale of grain thence to any foreign country; the Abbot of Furnes had, however, a similar exemption to that before granted to him, and liberty to export provisions to his Abbey(a). It is recorded that the ship of John Gernon, who

(a) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

had violated this order, was seized, but afterwards released with pardon of the offence. The ordinance against any persons crossing sea without license (merchants excepted) was further enforced in this year. In 1374, John Keppock was empowered to inquire into certain extortions and grievances affecting the exportation of corn from this town. [He was then a puisne Judge of the King's Bench, with a salary of 1*s.* 8*d.* per day, and afterwards constituted Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a Privy Councillor. In 1377, and subsequent years, he was regularly summoned to the successive Parliaments. In 1380, the Lord Lieutenant having died at Cork, the Chancellor and the said John Keppock, then Chief Justice, according to the existing law, summoned various spiritual and temporal lords, signifying to them the death of the Earl, and requiring their presence to choose a Lord Deputy in his place]. In the above year (1374), William Spalding (who was afterwards constituted Admiral of Leinster), was commanded to watch over the harbour of Drogheda, lest any but merchants or sailors should go out of Ireland, or export wool or hides without paying custom, and to seize any such offenders and their ships, and likewise to arrest and punish any persons selling or supplying horses, armour, iron, gold, silver, corn, or other provision to the king's enemies. Persons were also appointed to control the customs of this harbour; certain burgesses had, however, the usual licenses of exportation in their

favour, and amongst these, William Symcocks had liberty to export bread and wax to certain persons in Scotland who were in the king's peace and liegance(a). At the same time the authorities of this town were commanded to arrest any men-at-arms, archers, or others of the retainers of William de Windsor, who attempted to leave the kingdom of Ireland from that part, and to keep them in safe custody until further orders. They were also required to prevent the injurious effects in the markets caused by embracers, forestallers, and baggers, and to proclaim the illegality of such practices.

Notwithstanding the odium and obloquy which De Windsor's acts had so justly incurred, Edward the Third availed himself of the proceeds of his iniquity, and in 1375, by writ, reciting, that although on petition from Ireland he had been induced to supersede certain impositions and charges laid on that land by said William, amounting to £3000 at the Parliament of Kilkenny, and £2000 at that of Baldoyle, yet, as on other representations, it appeared that said sums were granted freely and without any circumstances of coercion, the mayor, bailiffs, and seneschal of Drogheda, were, amongst other officials, commanded to levy all arrears thereof for the use of the state. Such acts of cold and selfish oppression at this period induced the true and forcible remark of Moore (*Hist. Ireland*, v. iii. p. 118). "It was in fact more

(a) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

especially during the reign of Edward the Third that the foundations were laid of that monstrous system of misgovernment in Ireland, to which no parallel exists in the history of the whole civilized world, its dark and towering iniquity having projected its shadow so far forward as even to the times immediately bordering upon our own."

Richard Mole, who was mayor of this town in 1380, had in 1387 a grant from Robert de Vere, Marquis of Dublin, of the custody of the lands of Sir Thomas Tuit, in Julianstown and Dameanstown, described as in the county Dublin; and by an inquisition taken after his death about 1403 he was found to have been the chief proprietor of ten shops on the Meath side of Drogheda. About this time an Irish petition, in which this town must have been particularly interested, was preferred to the Parliament of Westminster for a free intercourse of trade between Ireland and Portugal, whereunto the king is reported to have given a gracious answer. In 1382, the authorities here were required to publish the ordinance, that only merchants should be permitted to pass to foreign parts, and were also directed to prevent the exportation of corn, meal, beans, flour, &c. In the same year a writ issued to them, reciting the prevalence of complaints, that, although a flaggon of red Gascony wine of the last year's vintage might well be sold for 8*d.*, yet 10*d.* was then charged for the same in Drogheda, to the great prejudice of the king's faithful people; which the king, being desirous

to redress, directed the said authorities on sight of this writ, to cause proclamation to be made at each side of the river, that no person in the town having such wine to sell, should exact 10*d.* for a flaggon, under pain of forfeiting their wines, and having their names reported to the Lord Lieutenant.

In 1385, Richard the Second committed to the custody of William Symcock, two messuages in Dyer-street, at the Louth side of Drogheda, one windmill, with one acre of arable, and two and a half of meadow in the vicinity; while in the following year certain burgesses of the town were, in consequence of aggressions committed at sea by the Scotch enemy, empowered and directed to scour the channel for their capture. Other burgesses here had at the same time license for themselves and their successors for ever, to export to England, cloths, wool, skins, and all other articles of Irish commerce, corn alone, at prohibited times, excepted.

On the 2nd of April, 1386, in consideration of the losses sustained theretofore by this corporation in resisting the king's enemies by sea and land, and protecting the well disposed within their walls, as well as of their good services in assisting their neighbours, and in further consideration of a fine of twenty marks paid into the Hanaper, the king forgave them all penalties incurred by escapes of felons, sales of wine, or other articles contrary to existing commercial ordinances, and all forfeitures thereby incurred. The seneschal and bailiffs at the Meath side received at

the same time, and for like reasons, a similar indulgence, witness Philip de Courtney.

The Viceroy, who attests these patents, Philip de Courtney, had been appointed in 1383, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, for which interval, or while he held the government, his wife had a royal grant of the manor of Cromlin. In 1385 he was empowered to appoint deputies in Munster, who were thereupon authorized to treat with, as well the English as the Irish, to hold councils and convocations with the prelates, magnates, peers, and commons of said province, in the name of the king and deputy, to adjust the existing differences between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, and do all acts during the king's pleasure, which the deputy could do if there present, and likewise to issue such and so many writs as appeared to them necessary, which were to have the same force as if under the great seal. With these powers De Courtney, in the following year, ordered the meeting of a great council at Kilkenny, directing that his said deputies should be admitted and received there as such, he being personally occupied in warring on the Mac Murroughs, O'Nolans, O'Byrnes and O'Tooles. He immediately afterwards held a great council in Dublin, where, with an evident reference to the extortions theretofore practised by William de Windsor, he stood up in the presence of the assembly, and publicly protested that if any one there had cause to complain of any extortion, oppression, false imprisonment, or other injury, by him,

such complainant should declare same, and it must be forthwith redressed; but, notwithstanding this ostentatious appeal, Robert de Vere, when he acquired Ireland by gift from Richard the Second, impeached De Courteney for extortions and oppressions, and purveyance without payment.

A very remarkable event, which occurred in English history in 1387, is interestingly connected with this town. At the close of the preceding year, Richard the Second had, although with extreme reluctance, signed a commission to eleven prelates and peers, besides the three great officers of state, appointing them a permanent council to inquire into the conduct of the officers of his household, courts of law, and every department of the government, to hear and determine all complaints which could not be redressed by common course of law; and to provide such remedies for all abuses as they might deem expedient. It was not, however, to be expected, that a prince, who was then but in his twentieth year, and who had theretofore given proof of abilities and courage, would tamely acquiesce in his own degradation, or that his favourites would neglect using every exertion, and urging all incentives to effect the restoration of his ascendancy. With the object of more freely communicating with such advisers, Richard, in 1387, made various progresses to York, Chester, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham. On the two latter occasions he held a council of several of the Judges, and amongst them Sir Robert Bealk-

nap, Chief Justice; Sir John Holt, Sir Roger Fulthorpe, and Sir William Burgh, Justices of the King's Bench, and Sir John Carey, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; John Lokton, the king's serjeant-at-law, was also of the council, whom the monarch enjoined on their allegiance to inform him what was the law of the land on the different questions which should be laid before them. In their reply they maintained that the commission, which had superseded the king in the exercise of the royal authority, was wholly unconstitutional, and its advisers traitors, liable to capital punishment; whereupon the king repaired to London; where, however, under the intimidation of the powerful army, headed by the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, he was obliged to submit to the imprisonment and impeachment of such of his friends as were not fortunate enough to escape from the kingdom. The judges before mentioned were arrested on the bench, consigned to separate cells in the tower, and ultimately condemned to suffer the penalties of treason, which judgment was, however, on the intercession of the bishops, commuted to banishment for life into Ireland; "that is to say, the said Sir Robert Bealknap, to Drogheda, not to pass beyond three leagues outside the town; Sir John Holt also to Drogheda, not to pass beyond two leagues outside same; Sir Roger Fulthorpe to Dublin, not to pass beyond three leagues in the environs thereof; and Sir William Burgh to the same city, not to pass beyond two

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leagues in the environs"(a). Sir John Cary and John Lokton were consigned to Waterford. The following annuities were ordered for their support, in such the places of their exile, to Bealknap and Fulthorpe £40 each, to Holt and Burgh 40 marks each, and to Cary and Lokton £20 each. In the same year, the authorities of Drogheda were ordered to prevent the exportation hence of corn, falcons, goshawks, &c., and were further directed to seize and secure provision and grain which were secreted over the country, and to transmit same for the maintenance of the Lord Justice and his suite, as also to export provisions for the household of John, Bishop of Sodor(b).

In 1389, the Archbishop of Armagh was elected by the Bishop and clergy of Meath, and the mayors and corporations of Dublin and Drogheda, to pass into England, there to make his Majesty acquainted with the state of Ireland, on which occasion, a subsidy of £10 on the clergy, and 25 marks on the commons of Meath, and 10 marks on the county of Louth, was ordered to be levied for the expenses of the Primate's journey. In the following year, a royal commission having issued, directing the Bishop of Ossory, and others, to inquire, on the oaths of credible persons in Ireland, concerning the rebellious proceedings of O'Neill, the authorities of Drogheda were ordered to summon and examine such

(a) Rot. Parl.

(b) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

persons within their town and liberties, as might be able to give satisfactory information thereupon.

In March, 1394, occurred the interesting visit of Richard the Second to this town, and the submissions of the Irish Princes of the North to his paramount authority, as detailed in an earlier Section of this work, among the Annals of the Dominican friary; but, although during that monarch's sojourn at Waterford, Kilkenny, and Dublin, many royal mandates and patents issued "teste rege," and are of record, none appears executed in Drogheda, unless, perhaps, one, whereby the rights of the Bishop of Meath, and his successors, to the manors of Ardracran, Ardcath, &c., were confirmed. In the same year, the mayor and bailiffs of Drogheda were directed, to cause two of their most worthy townsmen, to be elected as their representatives in Parliament, as also to enforce, with especial circumspection, the ordinance against persons passing over sea, from Ireland to foreign parts. In 1399, Richard Gill, deputy collector of the customs of this port, and ranger of the park at Trim during the minority of the Palatine, was taken prisoner by some rebels, in the harbour of Drogheda, immediately after which, James Cottenham had the royal orders to press for state service, certain vessels, with their masters and mariners, between this port and Dalkey(a).

In 1403, occurs a record of the Prior of Lanth-

(a) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

ony's seisin of a house in this town, described as on the Louth side, near the town-hall ; and at same time, a messuage, described as situated near the Shambles, in West-street, and vested in the Crown, by reason of the forfeiture of James White, was granted for life to Walter Tamworth, butler of the Justiciary. A license, which had been theretofore allowed, for John Brett to cross the seas, was at this time revoked, on the ground that it was fraudulently obtained, to avoid actions at law and prejudice his creditors. A few years afterwards, at a Parliament of Dublin, in 1410, the mode and grounds for obtaining licenses of absence were particularly defined, enacting, "that every liegeman to the king, which will go into England, or elsewhere, out of this land, for learning the laws of the church of this land, for pilgrimage, or other ways to prosecute or attend suits before the King's majesty, or to the Court of Rome, or to see their lands and possessions in England or Wales, or for other reasonable causes whatsoever, may come into the Chancery of Ireland, and there make oath by himself and other honest men, that he doth mean to depart this land for any the causes aforesaid, and thereupon, the Chancellor shall certify this oath, by writ, to the Barons of the Exchequer ; and that it shall be needful to no person having this writ, to sue for further license of absence to the governor of this land, and that they shall not be impeached for their absence by any of the king's ministers, unless it shall be proved that they be absent for other cause

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than is before assigned." Sundry dispensations for the exportation of wine, flour, wax, &c., by the burgesses of Drogheda, occur upon the Rolls at this period. In 1406, a ship, which had been the property of John Wade, of Bristol, but was then in the custody of the mayor of Drogheda, was ordered to be delivered to John Sanders, he having paid ten pounds to the Crown for same(*a*). About this time, the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda prosecuted a marauding war to the coasts of Scotland, carrying off spoil and hostages thereout; whereupon, John Dongan, Bishop of Down, and Jenico Darditz, were commissioned by King Henry the Fourth, to conclude a peace between his Irish subjects and Sir Donald Mac Donnell, Lord of the Isles, and John, his brother(*b*).

The personages collected in this latter record cannot be passed over without some individual notices. John Dongan was a Benedictine monk, and had been previously Bishop of Derry, from which see he was translated, in 1395, to Down, and in 1401 was constituted seneschal of the king's liberty of Ulster. He

(*a*) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

(*b*) "In a similar marauding expedition into Wales, where the heroic chief, Owen Glendower, was at this time baffling the arms of the Henrys, both father and son, by efforts of valour so prodigious, as to be attributed to the spells of necromancy, there was now carried away, among other booty, a shrine of the Welsh Saint, St. Cubin, which the pious plunderers, on their return to Dublin, placed as an offering in the Priory of Christ Church."—Moore's History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 144.

died in 1412.—Jenico Darditz (by some supposed to have been descended from Robert d'Artois, who, in the reign of Edward the First, settled with his family in England), was long engaged in the service of Richard the Second. Immediately on the last visit of that monarch to this country, he led an attack in the county Kildare, in which 200 Irishmen were slain. Following his sovereign when he returned to Wales, he firmly refused, at Flint, to submit to the Duke of Lancaster's command, that he should lay aside the badge of his master, whereupon, he was imprisoned in the castle of Chester. Henry, however, who could not but admire his loyal attachment to the fallen king, soon released, and brought him over to his own side, making him, in the first instance, a commissioner to treat with the Scots. In 1400, he committed to his custody the whole possessions of the Priory of Fore, in the county of Westmeath (it being an alien dependency, and the king then at war with France), to hold same at the annual rent of twenty marks, while in the king's hands, being the rent it used to pay to the Bishop of Meath. The king also gave Jenico the charge of the manor of Ardbraccan, being then vested in the Crown, as part of the temporalities of the same see. In the following year, he sanctioned the said Jenico, who then held the manor of Cromartin, on the borders of Louth and Meath, in taking Irishmen as tenants of the manor (traitors only excepted). In 1403, this illustrious individual had very large powers for holding parleys

at Fore, with the inhabitants of the baronies of Fore, Delvin, and Mullingar, and their vicinity, on the government and condition of the marches thereabout; he appears to have also, at this time, the custody of the manor of Trim, and was obliged to sue out a pardon for waste and destruction committed in its castle. In the same year, on the petition of Johanna, the wife of said Jenico, the king granted him the underwood in the forest of Barfortstown, county Meath, for the use of a kiln, the lime of which was necessary to the construction of a fortress at Liscartan. He also gave him all the corn in a certain haggard, in the parish of Kilclogher, county Louth, being in the king's hands by reason of the forfeiture of Richard Fitz Richard, and 120 oak trees and large beeches, growing in the lordship of Maundevilleston, forfeited to the Crown by Bartholomew de Verdon. He had likewise the custody of the estates of Christopher de Preston, in the county Kildare, and of the manor of Ardmulchan, during the minority of the respective heirs. In 1404 he was made Admiral of Ireland, and in 1406 was one of the commissioners appointed by the Crown, to inquire into an alleged violation of the Statute of Provisors, which had occurred in the appointment of the Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In 1409 he had a grant of various lands near Lucan, after which he was appointed Constable of the Castle of Dublin. In 1421 he had a grant for his life, from Henry the Fifth, of the manors of Esker, Newcastle of Lyons, and Saggard; and

Henry the Sixth, in the first year of his reign, confirmed to him such of these preferments as were then existing interests, as also annuities of 100 marks out of the fee farm and coket of Drogheda, and £40 out of the fee farm of the city of Dublin. In the same year he was appointed a commissioner, to inquire into infringements on the prerogative of the coinage. On the death of this favourite of kings, about the year 1425, a *post mortem* inquisition was taken, when it was found, that he died seised in fee tail of the manors of Ardglas, Ardwell, and Ross, with the advowsons of churches, Lismoghan, with its advowson, the manor of Castle-Lumnagh, &c., to all which, John Darditz, his son and heir, being of full age, succeeded.—Lastly, Sir Donald M'Donnell was the second Lord of the Isles, he married Mary Leslie, who afterwards became Countess of Ross, and, in his contest with the Regent Duke of Albany, regarding that Earldom, the memorable battle of Harlaw was fought, on which occasion, the whole array of the lordship of the Isles followed his standard. His right, by the cognomen of “Donald of Harlaw,” in consequence, to the said Earldom, was after his death virtually admitted by King James the First of Scotland, and, as Donald himself was actually in possession of that Earldom, he is properly called the first Earl of Ross of his family. To his brothers of full blood he gave ample territories, and each of them became the founder of a powerful clan(a). He

(a) See Gregory's *Western Highlands, &c.*, pp. 32, &c.

died in Isla about the year 1420, and was interred at Iona with the usual ceremonies. The John, above alluded to, was his next brother of the whole blood, he was popularly styled John Mor, and closer connected with Ireland than was Sir Donald, having, in 1405, married Mary Bysett, heiress of the Fews and Glynns in the county of Antrim, and in the recovery of whose inheritance it may be presumed, the contests alluded to in the text occurred.

In 1406, William Symcock had license to export wine that was unfit for sale in England, to Lough Foyle, in Ulster(*a*). In 1409 it was ordered that a ship of war should be built in this town, at the charges of the before-mentioned Jenico Darditz, to defend the coasts from the invasion of the Scottish enemy(*b*); and in two years afterwards the first regular recorded Assizes were held in this town, before Justices Stephen Bray, William Tynbegh, John Lumbard, and John Keppock, who were directed to sojourn afterwards here, to hold a state inquiry in relation to the vicinage. [The Stephen Bray here mentioned was commissioned so early as 1377, to inquire into seditions then distracting the county and cross-lands of Meath. In the same year he was summoned to a Parliament at Castledermot, soon afterwards to another in Dublin, and was next appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and a Privy Councillor. He was Chief Justice of the

(*a*) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

(*b*) Id.

King's Bench, in 1404, and continued to be uniformly summoned to subsequent Parliaments and great councils. Henry the Fifth, in 1422, granted to him the feudal advantages accruing from the marriage of Thomas, the son and heir of Thomas Marward, late Baron of Scrine. In 1424, he was one of the council that was called in by the Archbishop of Dublin, then Chancellor, to advise him on the validity of letters patent, by which Edmund Earl of March, being Lord Lieutenant, with a power of appointing a deputy in his absence, had constituted the Bishop of Meath such deputy, and had done so under the proper seal of the said Earl, at his Castle of Ludlow, concerning the sufficiency of which authority, there was so much doubt, that the Chancellor refused to admit the Bishop; it was, however, resolved by the same council that the letters might be enrolled in the King's Chancery, and, when afterwards exemplified, should be effective. In 1432, the king committed to his custody the manor of Dunmore, soon after which he died.—Of William Tynbegh it appears from records that in 1393, King Richard the Second gave license for his absenting himself from Ireland, with the object of finishing his studies in England; in 1405, he had commission as a Justice of Assize; and in 1409, was Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with a salary of thirty marks per annum. In 1415, he was appointed Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, and in 1422, had a royal grant of the manor of Stillorgan.—John Lumbard was appointed on a

weighty commission of inquiry as to the state of Connaught in 1378, as a Justice in Eyre.—John Keppock has been noticed, *ante, ad. ann.* 1374].

In 1412 an Irish vessel of this town having been captured by the Scots during time of truce, a ship was fitted out to demand her restitution, and it is mentioned on the record, that certain quantities of flour, peas, and a pipe of wine, were laid in for the support of those sent on the embassy; certain burgesses had liberty at the same time to carry flour to Bourdeaux, for the relief of the king's liege subjects there. This was the period of the happy union of the two corporations of Drogheda, as stated in the Corporate History. In 1415, the mayor and sheriffs of this town were obliged, on payment of a fine, to sue out pardon for having sold wine and beer, contrary to the regulations prescribed by statute, while certain merchants of Brittany had liberty to trade in Ireland for two years, with protection for themselves and their merchandize. In 1418, the king, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant and his council, confirmed to Edmund Earl of March and Lord of Trim, a rent of twenty-five marks, payable for the site of this town, and of a castle there called Castle Ulnagh, which were the property of said Earl's ancestors. At a great council held two years afterwards, a subsidy was voted to the Crown, to which the Liberty of Meath contributed eighty-three marks, the city of Dublin six marks ten shillings, that of Cork two marks two shillings, Drogheda four marks three shil-

lings, &c., a scale of assessment strongly indicative of the comparative importance and wealth of the latter town at the period.

In 1421, a royal license, similar to that of 1415, was granted with the object of inducing commerce from Brittany to Ireland(*a*). In the same year, upon petition of Jenico Darditz, reciting a grant to him by King Henry the Fourth of (*inter alia*) an annuity of 100 marks out of the fee farm of the custom and cocket of Drogheda, and that same was, on false suggestion, sought to be superseded in a Parliament at Westminster, but was there held valid and unimpeachable; notwithstanding which, the Lord Furnival, Lord Justice of Ireland, opposed the petitioner's recovery of the arrears thereof, or any his enjoyment of the grant; it was therefore prayed that the Crown would confirm his (said Darditz's) title thereto. Whereupon King Henry caused the original patent of said grant, to be exemplified, and directed that it should be observed according to the letter(*b*). In the following year Robert Russel, merchant, of Bristol, had permission to take two vessels laden with cloth, wine, salt, and other merchandizes, not pertaining to the staple in Ireland, there to sell the same, and to purchase meat, hides, salmon, herrings, and other provisions, to salt them, and return therewith to England. At this same time, in consequence of the various depredations committed by the O'Co-

(*a*) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

(*b*) Rot. Parl.

nors and O'Reillys, with a multitude of Irish enemies and English rebels, upon the king's liege subjects, the mayor and sheriffs of Drogheda were required to attend with an armed force on a given day, at Trim, to support the Lord Justice in his expeditions against these enemies(*a*), and in 1424, the same authorities were ordered to impress all ships within their liberty, and to have same on a fixed day at Beaumaris, for the purpose of carrying over Edmund Earl of March, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his army, while Richard Sedgrave and others were appointed to inquire on oath into the revenues, that should of right accrue to the Crown by wardships, marriages, reliefs, escheats and otherwise, in the counties of Louth and Drogheda; and also to examine concerning intrusions and alienations made without royal license first obtained(*b*). [This Richard Sedgrave had, in 1390, from King Richard, grants of the custody of the estates of Milo de Maundevillestown, and those of Robert Brown in Athboy. In 1402 he was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer, in which year he had also a grant in fee of two carucates of land in Coly, part of the possessions of the Abbey of Newry, situate among the Irish enemy, and therefore forfeited to the Crown, together with other parcels in the same locality, forfeited by Christopher White. In 1404, he had the custody of all the temporalities of the see of Armagh, in Louth and Meath, during a vacancy,

(*a*) Rot. in Canc. Hib.

(*b*) Id.

as well as the custody of Walter Hore's estates in Collon, county Louth. In 1410, on the memorial of this individual, jointly with the provost, bailiffs, and commons of the town of Carlingford, and the other tenants of the lordship of Coly, representing that the said town lay in a valley between the mountains and the sea, in front of the marches of the county Louth, and contained only 20 carucates of lowland, and that by reason of this its exposed state, it was often plundered and burned by the Irish and Scots, the king granted, that for a certain number of years, the borough should be free from all subsidies, talliages, and military services. In 1422, he was constituted Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in which character he presided in the above commission].

In 1429, the vicinity of Drogheda, and the whole county of Louth, having been for some time previously wasted by the Irish, whose incursions could not be restrained, from the defect of castles and fortresses on the marches, it was enacted that every liege man of the king, who would, within five years, build a castle or tower there, twenty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and forty in height, should receive ten pounds in aid of the undertaking, to be assessed in the way of subsidy, off said county. But this boon failing to meet the exigence, Parliament, upon the supplication of the commonalty of that county, authorized the sheriff thereof to compel the attendance of all labourers for eight days, in each of the three successive years, to be employed in the erec-

tion of such edifices(*a*). By another Act of the same session (7th Henry VI.), it was provided "that no merchant of England or Wales, nor any merchant whatever, should carry hides out of this land, but he shall first go unto the Mayor of the Staple of Dublin, Drogheda, or one other city or town that have staple, next to the port where the ship is laden with the said hides, and there be bound in securities to the king, to go to the staple next to the port of Calais, or else where the staple of England shall be, and there answer the king's customs due; and that he shall bring to the said Mayor of the Staple of Dublin, Drogheda, &c., a certificate under the seal of the Mayor of the Staple of Calais, or elsewhere, near the said staple, which shall be testimony that he hath so done." The roll of the session commences, as usual, with a confirmation to "the city of Dublin, the town of Drogheda, and all other cities and boroughs of this land," that they shall have and enjoy their customs, franchises, and liberties.

In 1432, John Charnells obtained from the crown, with the confirmatory attestation of the Lord Deputy,

(*a*) Unprinted Statutes. By a subsequent Statute, of the same reign, reciting, that the sons of labourers and travellers of the ground would now be kearns, evil doers, wasters, idlemen, &c., it was provided that all such sons, &c., should use the same labours and travails that their fathers have done. The Statute of Kilkenny had previously interdicted the passing of labourers beyond sea, under pain of fine and imprisonment, and the several authorities of counties were ordered not to suffer any such migration of that class.

a grant of twenty marks annually, during his life, payable out of the farm of the county of Drogheda, and by its sheriffs(*a*). In 1435, certain merchants burghesses of this town, had license to import salt, iron, or other articles of commerce from Brittany, while the exportation of flour or grain hence was strictly prohibited.

In 1441, a Parliament was held here, when certain subsidies were voted for the service of the state. In two years afterwards the king, from his manor of Shene, commanded the keeper of his privy seal to issue letters unto the sheriffs of the town of "Dro-daugh," in Ireland, thereby commanding them "to pay out of the fee farm that they be to yield unto his Majesty of the same town, thirty pounds unto William Galway, for six horses which Thomas Wyse, Esq., took from him, the which horses came to the king's hands"(*b*).

About the year 1443, Sir Richard Fitz Eustace, Lord Keeper; Giles Thorndon, Treasurer; and the other Lords of the king's council in Ireland, then holding court at Drogheda, wrote to his Majesty, recommending that the Lord Treasurer of England should be directed to reimburse the Earl of Ormond, Lieutenant of Ireland, for the great costs which he had sustained in labouring for the safeguard of the said land, and further praying the king to discontinue for the future any grants to the dimi-

(*a*) Rot. in Dom. Cap. Westm.

(*b*) Acts of Privy Council, England.

nution of the royal revenue in Ireland, such grants having, as they represent, diminished the funds for the payment of the judges and officers of the courts, the constables of castles, &c. Thorndon, the treasurer, however, at the same time exhibited to the Privy Council of England, articles of complaint, wherein he charged Ormond with various embezzlements of royal revenue, and amongst them a subtraction of the rights of the Crown, for the wardship of John de Verdon, of Uriel, and his lands; a collusive relinquishment touching the manor of Kilsaran in the county Louth, when its profits should have been seised to the king's use; a compromise of a fine of forty marks, which was to have been paid by the murderer of Richard Wellesley, knight, &c. The Earl was thereupon, in 1444, ordered to appear before the king without delay, as well to answer to the above allegations, as to explain the cause of the public discontents then existing in Ireland: the accused nobleman thereupon "summoned the nobility and gentry of the Pale to attend him here, when he informed them of the royal mandate, and that, after a government of three years, administered with fidelity and success, he was now preparing to render an account of his conduct at the foot of the throne. The English agents (said he), who bring the royal order, are here before you, and in their presence I boldly appeal to my most inveterate enemy, if any such there be in this assembly, let him stand forth; let him declare in what have I offended; let him point out

the single instance in which the subject hath suffered by my injustice, or the state by my neglect; here let me be brought to the severest scrutiny, not insidiously maligned in my absence. The magnanimity of conscious innocence could not fail of its effect; the most honorable testimonies were given to his integrity and to his services, and the king, upon an address from his Irish subjects, was prevailed upon to suspend the order for his departure"(a).

In 1450 (28 Hen. VI.), Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, father of Edward the Fourth, having been appointed Lord Lieutenant for ten years, convened a Parliament in this, his first, at Drogheda. The roll of the proceedings is extant in excellent preservation, and contains, together with those of an adjourned session held at Dublin, thirty-nine Acts, three of which only have been printed. Of those unprinted, Chapter 3 confirms, in the usual sessional way, the franchises and customs of Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda, and other cities and borough towns. Chapter 7 enacts, that no lord of Parliament shall be a sheriff; and that, if elected, he shall be discharged from the office. Chapters 11 and 12 are at the instance, and in favour of Christopher Plunket, of Killeen. Chapter 13, for Thomas Hore, Abbot of Dunbrody; 14, for Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin; 15, for Richard Bermingham; 16, for Nicholas Hussey, Baron of Galtrim; 17, for William Nugent;

(a) Leland's Hist. Ireland, vol. ii. p. 27.

18, for William Crose, farmer of the priory of Fore; 19, for Nicholas Brun, of Kilpatrick; 21, in favour of Thomas, Bishop of Leighlin; 22, for Thomas, Bishop of Ossory; 23, for John, Bishop of Connor; 24, for John, Bishop of Limerick; 25, respecting the right of presentation to the Treasurership of Limerick Cathedral, &c. An Act was also then passed, that the merchants of Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, Wexford, Kinsale, and Youghal, might lade corn from the ports of Dublin and Drogheda, for the provision of said cities and towns, until the next Parliament. Another Act to prohibit the sale of liquors, except in sealed measures, was promulgated; as were sundry Statutes to prevent certain grievances in proceedings at law, as by requiring that the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Judges, or one of them, should be present at all Commissions of Oyer and Terminer, in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel; while, to provide revenue for the government of the Duke, an act of resumption of lands and offices was passed. The Lord Deputy was further directed here to proclaim the royal service, and demand the attendance of all the king's subjects, notwithstanding a late Statute, which had forbidden such proclamation to be made within ten years thence next ensuing; and so favourable was this assembly to the Earl of Ormond and his interests, that an address of respectful thanks was upon this occasion voted to the king, for his late protection and generous acquittal of that Earl from the groundless and malicious accusations of his enemies.

At the close of the same year another Parliament was held here, by the said Earl of Ormond as deputy to the Duke of York. The roll of this session contains twenty Acts, and is, for the most part, in good preservation; but none of its Statutes have been printed. Chapter 1st recites, that the custom of Ireland has been, that no Parliament should be held there, more than once in a year, but that a then present necessity existed for holding a second within the year, especially as a Parliament could not be held profitably after the feast of Easter, on account of the hostility of the Irish enemies, who make it their practice to go to war continually after Easter; it therefore empowers the Deputy to hold such Parliament on that occasion, notwithstanding said custom. Chapter 6 was on the supplication, and in favour of Thomas Talbot, Prior of the House of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham. Chapter 14, at the instance of Lord Howth, whereby license was granted to him to search for mines within his seignory at Howth, and to apply the profits to his own use for three years. Chapter 15, in favour of William Welles, seneschal of the liberty of Meath, and Chancellor thereof, &c. The Primate, John Mey, was especially required to attend on this occasion, with proxies for the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral(a). This Prelate was himself in two years afterwards constituted Deputy to the Earl of Ormond

(a) Registry of Armagh, MS.

In 1455, at a Parliament held in Dublin, it was enacted, that, "as divers merchants and fishermen are daily robbed and spoiled on the sea by the king's enemies, Frenchmen, Britons, Scots, and others, for want of proper defence, therefore, it should be ordained, that whatever ship or ships should come and guard the sea, between the Northern parts and England, and between the head of Wicklow and Drogheda, should receive certain prescribed dues, from every vessel of merchandize, every boat, every fisherman and his tackle, &c.;" and receivers were appointed to collect same in the ports of Dublin, Howth, Malahide, Drogheda, Wicklow, Rush, Rogerstown, and Portrane. Another Act of this session prescribed, that the Recorders of Dublin and Drogheda should have but two pence for every plaint. A third may be here noted, as regarding two families, who were long of tenure and respectability in this town. It was an Act to make void a recovery in debt for 100 marks, had against John Barnewall by John Duff, the said Barnewall being wrongfully imprisoned in the house of the said Duff at Drogheda, by Sir Henry Bryane, Treasurer of Ireland, from whose custody said Barnewall made his escape, and said 100 marks were charged for his table during his imprisonment. The king's sessions were, at this time and theretofore, held at both sides of the river, those of the liberties of Meath in an old house and cottage at Castle-Blackagh, and those for the county of Louth or Uriel in a wretched house near the Dominican friary

and the Cow gate, but in a few years after, the inconvenience was remedied by statute, when it was enacted, that those for Meath should be held in the old Tholsel at the Meath side, and those for Louth, in the Tholsel at that side, provided the mayor, &c., of Drogheda, would sanction such regulation. In 1457, An Act was passed, confirming letters patent made to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, of 24 marks annuity, upon the fee farm of Drogheda, as parcel of his fees in that office.

In 1460, another Parliament was held here (38 Hen. VI.), before Richard Duke of York, which was afterwards adjourned to Dublin. The Roll of the session contains sixty-three Acts, in excellent preservation, and perfectly legible, but only one has been printed. In it were passed, an Act of Resumption "of all castles, lordships, towns, villages, &c., that had been aliened from the Crown since the first year of that king's reign;" an Act directing "that every appeal of treason taken in this land, shall be determined before the Council and marshal of this land and in no other place, and if any person do appeal any other within this land, and that the matter of the same appeal is found contrary, that then the person commencing the appeal, shall be therefore adjudged to die." Another Act (the sixth chapter), deserves more particular attention. It runs as follows: "Also at the request of the commons, that whereas the land of Ireland is, and at all times hath been corporate in itself of the ancient laws and cus-

toms used in the same, free from the charge of any special law of the realm of England, unless only of such laws, which, by the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of the said land, have been held, admitted, accepted, affirmed, and proclaimed, in the great council of Parliament thereof, according to many ancient Statutes therein made; and whereas, also, by the ancient custom, privilege, and franchise of the said land, there is, and always hath been the king's seal current, by which the laws thereof, and also the king's subjects of the same land are guided and directed, which seal is called the seal of the said land, to which all the said subjects ought to bear loyal obedience; and it hath never been seen or heard, that any person or persons inhabiting or residing in any other Christian country, so corporate of itself, should obey any commandment within the said land, given or made under any other seal but the proper seal of its own, by which any person should be held; or compelled by any such commandment to go out of the said land; and, if such commandment were obeyed within the said land of Ireland, most great prejudice and derogation, and most dangerous inconvenience would accrue to the said land contrary to the franchises, liberties, and ancient customs of the same, and most great and immense vexations would accrue to the subjects thereof, whereof many precedents of late days have come to pass, and have so been found; and moreover, that whereas any realm or land, which hath within itself,

of itself, a constable and marshal, or person of the same realm or land, ought not to sue or pursue any appeal or other matter, determinable before the said constable and marshal, before the constable and marshal of any other land, and that in such case, such appeal or matter should take no foundation or effect, and that, notwithstanding that there are within the said land, and of ancient custom there have been a constable and marshal, yet divers persons of the said land have oftentimes heretofore, sued and troubled with great malice, many of the king's subjects, to be sent for to come into England, by colour of such appeal, to the great derogation and prejudice of the said liberties and franchises. Whereupon, the premises being considered, it is ordained, enacted, and established in the said Parliament, and by the authority of the same, that hereafter, no person or persons, being within the said land of Ireland, shall be compelled, by any commandment given or made under any other seal but the said seal of the same land, to answer to any appeal or any other matter out of the said land; and that no officer or minister of the said land, to whom any such commandment shall come, shall put the said commandment, or any proclamation, or any other thing contrary or prejudicial to the said ancient customs, privileges, and franchises, in execution; on pain of forfeiture of all his lands or goods, which he or any other hath to his use within the said land, and above this, of a thousand marks, one-half to the king, and the other half to the party

who will sue in this case against the said officer or minister, by writ of *scire facias*, or by any action in the law in this behalf convenient, It is also ordained by the same authority, that every appeal of treason, sued in this land, shall be determined before the constable and marshal of the said land for the time being, and within the said land, and in no other place; and, if any person hereafter shall appeal any other person within the said land, and the matter of the said appeal be found and proved not true, that then such person, taking or commencing such appeal, shall thereby be adjudged to death, and that no pardon shall avail him in that case." By the 18th chapter, proceedings were directed to be taken against the Archbishop of Tuam, and the Bishops of Limerick, Emly, Killaloe, Derry, Connor, and Down, for going to Rome without royal license. The 20th provides for certain rights of Robert, Abbot of St. Mary's Abbey of Trim. The 21st is in favour of John, the son of John Babe of Ardee, in reference to his estate in Dromisken. The 25th regards Dame Fleming and her possessions in the manor of Syddan. The 28th directs, that Michael, Archbishop of Dublin, should pay a certain pension to the king's chaplain, until he collate him to a competent benefice. The 30th chapter was enacted to determine a dispute about precedence, that had for some previous years existed between the Lord of Gormanston and the Baron of Slane; the decision of Parliament, as herein expressed, was, that the former should have his seat

and place above the latter, in like manner as his father and grandfather had theretofore sat in right of the barony of Kells. Chapter 32 relates to William Butler and his seisin in fee of the manors of Dunboyne and Moymet. Chapter 35 was passed, at the instance and in favour of the prior and convent of St. Saviour of Dublin, while by another, Sir Thomas Bath was attainted, and all his offices, lands, and tenements, comprising the manors of Garistown, Ash, Castlering, Louth, and Dunmow, which he had acquired in right of Philip Lord d'Arcy, were, with their appurtenances, declared forfeited to the king; but these were soon afterwards restored to the heirs of Lord d'Arcy(a).

It must not, however, be omitted, that, during the parliamentary session in this town, most important measures were passed respecting the coinage of Ireland, in reference to which it will be necessary to make a few prefatory observations. Although this country is not deficient in mines, and mints are said to have been erected here at a period even previous to the Christian era, while the annalists, with more confidence state two, as having been established in the time of St. Patrick at Armagh and Cashel respectively; yet it must be confessed, that the proofs of a native mint at any of these periods are slender: the intercourse, however, which at a very remote period undoubtedly subsisted between Ireland and Phœ-

nicia, Carthage, Spain, Britain, and Gaul, leaves it more than probable, that money should have been introduced here centuries before the Danish invasion ; an inference which is corroborated by the fact, that although no Irish coins have been yet discovered, which can, with any probability, be assigned to a period earlier than the Danes, yet Grecian, Roman, and Carthaginian, of a more ancient era, have been (as Lindsay remarks in his recent and comprehensive " View of the Coinage of Ireland,") to a limited number found in Ireland. Of these it should be mentioned, gold coins of Valentinian and Theodosius were (as Ledwich relies) found in the vicinity of this town, at New Grange. To this currency succeeded a partial importation of Anglo-Saxon coins, after which the Danes, on succeeding in settling themselves in the seaports, established a mint in Dublin, where their acknowledged supreme Prince resided. The characters and varieties of these Hiberno-Danish coins, are fully illustrated in Lindsay's work, pp. 8, &c., and for further information on this early branch of the subject, not being more intimately connected with this town, the curious reader is referred to Simon "on Irish Coins," and to Keder's "*Nummorum in Hiberniâ cusorum Indagatio.*" Immediately after the English invasion, halfpence and farthings were struck in Dublin and Waterford by Prince John, as Lord of Ireland ; and, in some years after his accession to the throne, according to Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris,

he commanded John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, then his Justiciary in this country, to cause halfpence and farthings to be stamped there, according to the weight of English money, and ordered that both the halfpenny and the farthing should be struck round. The king also commanded, that the said money should pass current among all his subjects, as well in England as in Ireland, and that the money of both kingdoms should be received in his treasuries without any distinction. On this new coin was the king's head crowned, with a sceptre in his right hand, in a triangle inscribed "Johannes Rex," and on the reverse a crescent and a blazing star, with three lesser stars in the three points of another triangle, with the mint master's name, and place of mintage. The triangle on the Irish coins of this monarch, as well as on those of his two next successors, seems to have been designed as an emblem of the Trinity, and was afterwards fully impressed on the coins of some of the succeeding kings. King Henry the Third, in the 35th year of his reign, caused a new coin to be struck in Ireland, as appears from the records of the Tower of London; one side of this coin bears the king's head crowned, a sceptre in his right hand in a triangle, and the inscription "Henricus Rex iii," on the reverse a cross, quartering the penny, with three pellets in each quarter, the mint master's name and place of mintage. The coin properly called in ancient times a sterling, or Easter-

ling, was the denier or English penny, as appears from an ordinance of King Edward the First, wherein it is said, that the penny of England called a sterling, round and unclipped, shall weigh 32 grains in the middle of the ear, and every other piece of silver took its measure from the sterling penny, as the gross or groat contained the value of four sterlings, and the demy or half groat two sterlings; the shilling was worth twelve sterlings, and the mark, according to Matthew Paris, thirteen shillings and four sterlings. The maille (a base coin of France), otherwise called a demy, was the half of a sterling, and the quadrans or farthing the fourth part; all these small pieces were stamped in silver, but are now generally dwindled into an imaginary money, or money of account, and subsist only in the cabinets of the curious. A sterling was at first the twentieth part of an ounce, and so continued until 1336, when the ounce of silver was divided into twenty-six sterlings, and afterwards in 1424 into thirty-two pieces.

In the meantime, in the year 1279, a new kind of money is recorded to have been struck by Stephen de Fulburn Bishop of Waterford, while he was Deputy Viceroy of Ireland. This was done by command of that provident monarch King Edward the First, who fixed a certain standard or rule in England for money, both in the weight and fineness, according to which the mints in Ireland were also regulated, as appears from the accounts of Donat and Andrew de Sperdsholt, masters of the Exchange

in Dublin, of record in Bermingham Tower. Afterwards, in the year 1300, the same king having, by proclamation, decried the money called Pollards and Croccards in England, the mandate was transmitted for publication in Ireland, and is extant as an established ordinance in the Red Book of the Exchequer; these pollards were but of half the value of sterling money. Soon afterwards, this monarch erected a new mint in Dublin, as before mentioned, consisting of four furnaces, and constituted Norman of Liege master of the coiners. Afterwards, in the year 1304, Master William de Wymundham, controller of the king's Exchange in England, by command from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the English treasurer, sent to Sir William de Essendon, treasurer of Ireland, twenty-four stamps for coining of money there, viz, three piles with six crosses for pence, three piles with six crosses for halfpence, and two piles with four crosses for farthings, which he sent by certain members of the company of minters at London, to be by them used in the coinage of money. At that period the names of the moneyers, which had hitherto appeared on the reverse of the coinage, were discontinued, and those of the places of the mints were inscribed in lieu, as recorded in the rude lines of Robert le Brun, an ancient English poet, cited by John Stow the chronographer:

“Edward did smite round penny, halfpenny, farthing,

* * * * *

On the king's side was his head, and his name written;
On the cross side what city it was made in, coined, and smitten."

Accordingly, on the coins of this period appears the king's face, in the same attitude with those of the two former reigns, but without the sceptre, and inscribed "Edw. R. Angl. Dns. Hyb.," and on the reverse, a cross of a different make from that of his father's, inscribed with the place of coinage, as "Civitas Dublinie," or Waterford, or Cork, at each of which localities was a mint. This king was the first who added "Dns. Hyb.," i. e. Dominus Hiberniæ, to his stile, which is never omitted in his coins, nor in those of his son Edward the Second, but was afterwards for an interval disused. Another alteration, which appears in the coins of this reign, is the omission of the sceptre which appeared in those of Henry the Third, and that omission continued in all small money coins until Henry the Eighth, and in all large coins until the sceptre was reinstated on the crowns and half-crowns of Queen Elizabeth. It is by some thought, that the above Edward was the first monarch who caused halfpence and farthings to be coined round, but this is an error, for specimens exist of such coined in the reign of John, and the mistake seems to have arisen from the fact, that he first prohibited the use of broken money, for anciently they had no other money but pence, and when a halfpenny or farthing was re-

quired, they broke the penny in two or four parts. These round halfpence and farthings continued till the reign of James the First, who discontinued the coining of silver farthings. In the ninth year of the reign of Edward the Third (1336), a proclamation issued, for the coining of pence, halfpence, and farthings in Ireland, prescribing that a pound of mailles, or halfpence, by the standard of the exchange, should contain twenty-one shillings in tale, and the pound of farthings twenty-one shillings and eleven pence, and that the pound aforesaid should contain ten ounces of pure silver, that is to say, three shillings and four pence. So, twenty pence of the standard aforesaid made an ounce, and twelve ounces a pound of troy weight. According to this proportion, all the Crown rents were paid into the Exchequer by weight and tale, until 1345, whereas from the frequent variations made in the standard in subsequent times, an ounce of silver came to bear the estimation of five shillings. By an ordinance of Edward the Third, in 1339, reciting, that certain Irishmen had coined the black money called turneys in the parts of Ireland, and bought and sold merchandize, victuals, and other commodities for the same, in deterioration of the sterling money, the circulation of such money was prohibited. In the third year of the reign of Richard the Second, 1379, license was granted by Parliament to all the subjects of Ireland to search for mines of gold and silver in their own lands for six years, reserving the ninth part of the

gold and silver discovered to the king, and the residue to be converted into vessels, or coined in the mint at Dublin, according to the discretion of the owners, with a prohibition, nevertheless, against exporting gold, silver, or bullion, into any other country except England, under the penalty of confiscation(a). In 1447, an Act was passed against a currency called O'Reilly's money, which had probably been minted by O'Reilly, lord of Cavan, in consequence of the increase of traffic in his territories, the suppression of which induced the necessity of his Majesty establishing a mint in Ireland.

These preliminary notices of this subject seemed

(a) An unprinted Act of 1480 illustrates the traffic which had been established by the Irish chieftains in their districts, and especially by the O'Reillys. "Also at the request of the commons, for that whereas divers Irish merchants, lately stocked with store of goods, by the concourse of the English merchants in Irish land, have of late times found great means to destroy and injure the markets of Athboy, Kells, Fore, Mullingar, Oldcastle, and other ancient English market towns, by these means, to wit, they have commenced markets in the country of O'Reilly, and the country of O'Ferrall, at Cavan, Granard, Longford, and other places, which, if they be long continued, will cause great riches to the king's enemies, and great poverty to the king's subjects, wherefore be it ordained, by the authority of the said Parliament, that no English merchant shall bring any goods or merchandizes to any of the said markets of Cavan, Granard, Longford, or to any Irish country out of the English country, or shall carry any goods from the said market, or make any concourse or resort thereto, under pain of forfeiture of the goods, and imprisonment.

necessary for the introduction of the measures adopted relative to the coinage in the aforesaid Parliament, held here by the Duke of York. It was then enacted, that the English noble of lawful weight should pass in Ireland at 8s. 4d., the half noble at 4s. 2d., the quadrant d'or of the same coin and weight at 2s. 1d., the gross or groat of London, York, and Calais, not clipped within the extreme circle, at 5d., the demy gross at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, the denier at $1\frac{1}{4}d.$, the gross clipped at 4d., and the smaller denominations in proportion; and after reciting, that as Normandy and Guienne, when they were under the obedience of England, yet were separate from the laws and statutes of England, so also Ireland, though it be under the obedience of the same realm, is nevertheless separate from it, and from all its laws and statutes, only such as are there by the lords spiritual and temporal and commons freely admitted and accepted of in Parliaments and great councils, by which, a proper coin, separate from the coin of England, was, with more convenience agreed to be had in Ireland; it was therefore enacted, that a coin be made in Ireland, under two forms, the one of the weight of half a quarter of an ounce, troy weight, on which shall be imprinted, on one side a lion, and on the other a crown, called an "Irlandes d'argent," to pass at the value of a penny sterling; the other at the weight of seven ob. troy, having imprinted on the one side of it a crown, and on the other a cross, called a "Patrick," of which eight shall pass for a penny sterling;

that a gross be made, of the weight of three pence sterling, and to pass for 4*d.* sterling, which shall have imprinted on it at one side a crown, and on the other side a cross, like the coin of Calais, bearing about the cross, in writing, the name of the place where the coin is made; and that every person who brings bullion to the mint, ought to receive for every ounce of silver, troy weight, nine of the said grosses of the value of 3*d.* each; that the coin called the jack, be for the time to come of no value and void; and that the abovementioned coins be made in the castles of Dublin and Trim. It was further provided in this session, that as the prosperity of a country consisted in the trade of merchants, and in the importing gold, silver, and bullion, and as no strange coins are usually received in Ireland, that, therefore, thenceforward the Rider, of lawful weight, do pass for 4*s.*, the Ducat at 4*s.* 2*d.*, the Jean at 4*s.* 2*d.*, the Crown at 3*s.* 4*d.*, the Burgoigne noble at 6*s.* 8*d.*, the Salute at 4*s.* 2*d.*; and if any of the said gold, or if the English noble, demy noble, or quadrant of gold, be not of full weight, that a proportionate abatement be made, and as there is a great variance in the receipt of the gross, demy gross, and penny, it was enacted, that the gross and demy gross, having the second circle clear and not clipped, and if any of the writing appears above the said circle in two quarters, that the gross should pass for 5*d.*, and the demy-gross for 2½*d.*; and that all deniers current in England shall pass in Ireland for 1¼*d.*, and that the denier

with the cross called *Irlande*, be utterly void, and that in lieu of it a penny of silver be struck, of the weight of the fourth part of the new gross of Ireland, to be imprinted and inscribed as the new gross.

In 1461, King Edward the Fourth constituted *Germyn Lynch* of London, goldsmith, warden and master worker of the coin within the Castles of Dublin and Trim, and the town of Galway, and graver of *ponsons* (*puncheons*) of the said coin, to hold, by himself or deputy, during his life, which patent was confirmed by Parliament in the third year of the reign of the said king, while he was specially restricted to working the said coins, according to the tenor of the aforesaid Statute of 38 Henry VI. He had also power to make pieces of silver of the value of 4*d.* each, whereof 120 should go to the pound Troy, and so in proportion to the ounce; also other pieces of silver of the value of 2*d.* each, whereof 240 to go to the pound; likewise a license to coin eight pieces of brass of the value of one penny of said silver, and it was ordered, that all the aforesaid monies and coins of silver and brass should be imprinted and bear scripture, and be of *pois* and alloy, and fineness as is specified in said Statutes. The said Lynch was further empowered likewise to strike four pieces of brass or copper, running at a penny of said silver, to be imprinted with the figure of a bishop's head, and a scripture of the word "*Patrick*," about the same head on the one side, and with a cross having the word "*Salvator*" thereabout on the other, and to make as much or as little of every sort of the said money or coins

of brass or copper as he should think profitable and good. He was likewise authorized to make all manner of ponsons, screws, graves, and other instruments necessary to said mints, and was directed to make a privy sign on every piece of silver money, and have inscribed thereon, on the part of the side of the cross "*Posui Deum adiutorem meum,*" and on the side of the crown, "*Edwardus Dei gratiâ Dominus Hiberniæ.*" In the same year, in a Parliament held at Dublin, it was enacted, that a maille and quadrant, that is a halfpenny and farthing of silver be struck in the Castle of Dublin, bearing the same writing and crown, as the new denier bore, which was followed by a provision for small coin as change, that a coin of copper, mixed with silver, should be made within the Castle of Dublin, having on one side the print of a cross, and on the other part a crown, of which four were ordained to pass as a penny, and that within the circumference of the cross should be engraved the name of the place where it was made; and on the other part soiles or suns and roses in the circumference of the crown, provided that no sum shall be struck exceeding one hundred marks, and no prejudice caused to the aforesaid patent for Gernyn Lynch.

In the third year of the reign of Edward the Fourth, it was enacted, on the petition of the mayor, bailiffs, and commons of Waterford, in order to supply the defect of small coins, that the gross, denier, demy denier, and quadrant, enacted in the time of Henry to be struck in Dublin and Trim, should be

now struck at Waterford, in Dundory, otherwise Reginald's Tower. In 1465, in a Parliament begun at Trim, before Thomas Earl of Desmond, as deputy to the Duke of Clarence, the value of all the gold coin, stamped from the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third to the end of that of Henry the Sixth, was raised, i. e. the noble, which before was current at 6s. 8d., to 10s., and so of other money, according to the same rule and proportion. On this occasion the ounce of silver was also divided into forty pence, and in the seventh year of the same king's reign, was raised to double value, in consequence of the scarcity of silver, and to prevent its being carried out of the country; it was likewise prescribed, that doubles, grosses, half grosses, deniers, halfpence and farthings, should, according to certain forms, of certain weights, and with inscriptions, as therein fully set forth, be coined in the castles of Dublin and Trim, the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the towns of Drogheda, Galway, and Carlingford, and that all other coins should, from the Easter following, be annulled, and the receivers and payers of any others be adjudged felons. "The coins, under this provision, from the Dublin mint are the most numerous, viz., the double groat, groat, half groat, and penny. Of Trim, there are the groat and half groat, both unique; and of Drogheda, the double groat, which is also unique. None" (adds Dr. A. Smith, in a recent and able Essay upon the subject, in the Royal Irish Academy Transactions, vol. xix.) "of Li-

merick or Waterford have been discovered, and it does not appear that silver coins were ever minted in Galway or Carlingford." Those of Dublin and Drogheda "are distinguished from the coins of the English type, by having a rose in the centre of the reverse. The groat has the king's head crowned, with a double tressure of nine arches, a small sun at the right side of the crown, and left of the neck, and a rose at the left of the crown, and right of the neck, mint mark a rose; legend, 'Edwardus Dei Gra. Dns Hyber.' Reverse, a cross, with a rose in its centre, mint mark, a sun; legend, 'posui,' &c., and in the inner circle, 'Villa Drogheda.' In another, the suns and roses at the sides of the crown and neck are transposed; mint mark on the reverse, a rose. They weigh from twenty-seven to twenty-nine grains." A half groat of this mint, and of a different type, Dr. Smith mentions as recently discovered; legend, "Edward Di Gra. Dns Hyber;" mint mark, a sun; it has not trefoils at the points of the tressure. Reverse, "posui," &c., and "Ville de Droghe;" weight fifteen grains. Of the pennies coined here he mentions four varieties. The first having a pellet at each side of the king's neck; reverse, "Villa de Droghe;" weight, eight grains; the second has a small rose in the centre of the reverse and weighs only six grains; the third has an ornament consisting of four loops, united so as to form a kind of quatrefoil in the centre of the reverse, legends as before; weight, seven grains. The fourth variety has a small sun at each side of the

king's neck, and the legend on the reverse is different from all the others, viz., "Edward Rex Angl. Fr;" mint mark, a cross; a change caused by an Act of 1470, which directed the inscription to be so varied. Dr. Smith, in a recent communication to the author, has been kind enough to furnish the following particulars of coins of Edward the Fourth, discovered since the publication of his Essay above alluded to. 1. A double groat, ob. king's head; rev. sun and rose. "Edward, Dei Gra. Dns Hyberni."—"Villa de Drogheda;" unique. 2. Groat of the same type; unique. 3. Penny of the same type; unique. 4. Ob. king's head; rev. cross and pellets. "Edvardus Dei Gra. Rex Angli;" "Posui Deum adjutorem meum," "Villa Drogheda," in the inner circle. The groats of the Dublin mint also present two varieties in the disposition of the suns and roses, like those of Drogheda." It may be here mentioned, that the rose was the badge of the house of York, and the sun first introduced by Edward on the coins. This impress he adopted in commemoration of an extraordinary appearance in the heavens immediately before the battle of Mortimer's cross, when for a time, as stated in Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, three suns were seen shining together, and were suddenly conjoined in one. As Edward was then victorious "he took a sun for his impress, which stood him in good stead at the battle of Barnet."

The effect of the regulations prescribed by the said Parliament of 1465 was, that the ounce of silver

was thereby raised to 6s. 8d., the result of which was such an excessive dearness of provisions, that numbers forsook the kingdom, and many residents were reduced to great indigence, to remedy which, a Statute of the tenth year of the reign of Edward the Fourth provided, that all said coins should be reduced to half the value, at which they were stamped, and so continue to the feast of the Purification next ensuing; after which, they were to be entirely annulled, and in the mean time five sorts of silver coin were enacted to be struck in Dublin, Trim, and Drogheda, to wit, the gross, demy gross, denier, demy denier, and quarter denier, according to prescribed models, whereby the standard was reduced to 3s. 8d. per ounce. Lest, however, this diminution "might be of great damage to all the king's subjects, if all manner of corn, victuals, and merchandize be not made to accord, it was enacted that every man should sell at the following prices, viz., the peck of wheat for 16d. or under; of oats, 4d.; of barley, 8d.; meal of wheat, 20d.; meal of oats, 6d.; the peck of beans, 7d.; of rye, 8d.; of peas, 7d.; a barrel of herrings, 6s. 8d.; a mease of herrings, 4s.; an ox, 10s.; a cow of the better sort, 6s. 8d.; a mutton, 8d.; a hog of the better sort, 3s. 4d.; a goose, 3d.; a couple of capons, 4d.; a peck of salt, 8d.; of coals, 6d.; a pound of iron, 10d.; a yard of coarse cloth, 2s.; a pound of wool, 18d.; a yard of frize of the better sort, 6d.; a hide in the hair, 10d.; a hide tanned, 20d.; a pound of tallow, 6d.; a pair of shoes of the better sort, 4d.;

a pair of shoes for women, 2*d.*; half a gallon of the best beer, 1½*d.*; a gallon of Rochel wine, 6*d.*; a gallon of Gascony wine, 8*d.*; a hundred of white yarn, 30*s.*; a hundred of gray yarn, 23*s.* 4*d.*; and it was prescribed, that whoever bought or sold any of said goods at a higher price, should forfeit 20*s.*, and baronial commissioners were directed to see to the due execution of this Statute. In the next year the value of the gross, unclipped, was fixed at nine pence, and other coins in proportion, while to aid the circulation, it was further enacted, about this time, that the master or masters of the coinage should have power to make and strike within the castles of Dublin and Trim, and the town of Drogheda, five sorts of silver coins, according to the fineness of the coins struck in the Tower of London, viz., groats, half groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, eleven groats to go to the ounce. By the recitals of another Act of 12th of Edward the Fourth (1472), it appears that there were then divers coiners in Cork, Youghal, Kinsale and Kilmallock, one of them, John Fannin, showing letters patent, not of record, the rest making false coins without any authority. The Act ordered that they should be attainted, and their alleged letters patent declared void. In the same year Germyn Lynch himself, late Master of the Mints in Ireland, was indicted, for that, when the Statute said that every pound of bullion coined should be forty-four shillings in money, he coined out of every pound forty-eight shillings; and that he coined at Drogheda, one

thousand groats, which being tried, it was found that eleven weighed but three-quarters of an ounce, instead of an ounce. In 1473, at a Parliament held in Dublin, it was enacted, that the coins should be struck, for the time to come, within the Castle of Dublin only, and that fourteen groats should make an ounce, according to the just standard of the Tower of London, and Germyn Lynch was hereby restored to the mastership of the mint, during good behaviour.

In a Parliament of 1475, the value of silver money was further changed, and the old grosses were raised to 6*d.* each, unclipped, the new to 5*d.*, and the smaller pieces in proportion. By the same Act mints were established at Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, of which Richard Heron was, by royal patent, appointed master(*a*), and the liberty of coinage in other towns prohibited. In a Parliament of the next year a value was put by two Acts upon coins of gold, both English and Foreign; the English gold royal was ordered to pass in Ireland at 13*s.* 4*d.*; the angel at 8*s.* 4*d.*; the old noble of gold at 12*s.*, and all lesser pieces of these denominations at the same rate, and of foreign coins the Rider, fine and good, was enacted to pass in Ireland at 5*s.* of Irish silver; the Ducat at 5*s.*; the Leo at 5*s.*; the Crown at 5*s.*; the Crosado, at 5*s.*; the Burgoigne noble at 10*s.*; the Salute at 5*s.*; and lesser denomi-

(*a*) Rot. 14 Edw. IV. in Tur. Lond.

nations at the same proportion, insufficiencies of weight to be made good in silver. The impress on the coins of this time was, three crowns, denoting the three kingdoms, England, France, and Ireland; and the inscription at length, "Dominus Hiberniæ;" on the face was no monarch's head, but instead of it the arms of France and England, quartered in a scutcheon, with the inscription, "Rex Angli et Francie." Other coins of this period are described in "Ware's Antiquities," p. 215, and in particular an Irish groat, wherein there is no mention at all of England, the inscription on the pile side being "Edwardus Dei gratiâ Dns. Hiberni," and on the reverse, "Posui Deum adiutorem meum, Civitas Dublinie;" and another not differing from this, except that the place of its coinage is stated as "Villa de Drogheda." In 1478, on the revival of the Liberties of Meath, power was given to Lord Grey, the seneschal, to strike all manner of silver coins within the Castle of Trim, according to such fineness and alloy, as is in the Statute for that purpose provided; and in 1483, an Act was passed to give a currency to all coin before struck by the king's officers, according to a print described, and that the refusers should forfeit 12*d.* for every half denier refused; to be divided between the king and prosecutor; and if any persons in cities or towns should refuse such coin, then the forfeiture was appointed, half for the king and half to be appropriated for the murage or paviage of the said city or town, the offenders to be committed to prison until pay-

ment; and it was further provided by the said Act, that if the inhabitants, citizens, or burgesses of Waterford, Wexford, Ross, Kilkenny, Dungarvan, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, Kilmallock, Limerick, Galway, or Athenry, or elsewhere, within these parts of Ireland, be proved to offend in the premises, that they should forfeit £20, and that the citizens and burgesses of such cities and towns so refusing, should lose their franchises until they made fine to the king for such contempt, with a proviso that the Act should not extend to the citizens of Dublin, or burgesses of Drogheda. Soon afterwards Richard the Third had groats and pennies coined here; the busts in these are full faced, a rose and sun alternately at each side of the head, with the usual legends. From 1483, the Parliament of Ireland, in the growing respect for the prerogative, does not appear to have interfered with the coinage; and the Act peculiarly termed Poyning's law, which was passed soon afterwards in this town, disabled the Irish legislature from sanctioning any measures inimical to the sister kingdom; here therefore, for the present, all remarks upon the coinage, more immediately referrible to Drogheda, close, possibly to be resumed at a future portion of the work, as its necessities may suggest.

Returning, therefore, to a period that preceded the latter notices, but from which the coinage inquiry digressed, it appears interesting in connexion with this town, to allude to two unprinted Statutes passed in a Parliament of 1464. One recites that James

Dockeray, of Drogheda, gentleman, had passed into England, and there of malice prepense had accused the Earl of Desmond of extorting coign and livery in the county of Meath, it therefore directs, that said James should render his body to the constable of Dublin Castle, within fifteen days, under pain of forfeiture of lands and goods. The other reciting that Christopher Wellesley of Dangan, knight, was indicted in the King's Bench of divers treasons and felonies, when, according to his duty, he went to Drogheda to answer the indictment, of whose allegations he pleaded he was not guilty; whereupon, returning towards his own house, he was at Duleek waylaid by one Thomas Hay, of Ratoath, Richard Delahoyde, of Grenock, and John Milton, of Duleek, who robbed him and his servant of two horses, two swords, and two daggers, and kept him imprisoned at Ratoath for four days; it was therefore enacted, that said Christopher should be pardoned of all offences of which he was so indicted as effectually as if by the king's letters patent, and that the aforesaid offenders should surrender themselves at the Castle of Leixlip, or be outlawed and attainted.

These notices restore the progress of the history in its chronological order, to the Parliament held here in 1467, before the unfortunate Earl of Desmond, as before alluded to; when a very important measure of more general interest to Ireland, and especially to this town, was contemplated and recommended by Statute, for public co-operation and en-

dowment. The political feelings that induced it, however, require some more particular notice. Ireland, during the middle ages, had been distracted by the feudal rivalries of the Fitzgeralds, or as they were more popularly called, the Geraldines of Kildare and Desmond on the one side, and the Butlers of Ormond on the other, two of the most illustrious families that an adventurous spirit had introduced, and centuries naturalized in that country. Alternately were they intrusted with the government of the island, or rather of that little section denominated the Pale, which alone was yet properly amenable to English laws and authority. This impartiality, or to speak more truly, this indifference, with which the kings of England appointed their deputies, was recognized in Ireland by the ruinous experience of distracted councils, and, ever as the one rival advanced into the royal confidence, so often were the forces of the other marshalled to counteract his measures, and attain his reputation; the nobles and gentlemen of service groaned under the levies and exactions of each party, while the great body of the settlers and natives were abandoned to the action and reaction of their hostility and revenge. During the civil wars of York and Lancaster, Kildare for the white, and Ormond for the red rose, organized the whole passions and energies of the Pale. One, and but one, short halcyon respite intervened, while the Duke of York (the father of Edward the Fourth), resided in Ireland as Viceroy, holding his Parliaments in Dub-

lin and Drogheda, as before mentioned. He, by alike favouring and honouring every rank and class of the people, had acquired the general love of all, and conciliated a nation whom he was sent to subdue, so that, when on his subsequent return to England, he was betrayed and defeated at Blore Heath, and driven back an exile into the country he had then so lately governed, he was received there, not as a fugitive, but with every demonstration of loyal affection; gentlemen and followers of houses before then pitted in deadliest enmity, became his united adherents, clung together in his service, deserted their acquired estates to the rebound of Irish invasion, devoted their whole hopes to the unfortunate prince, passed into England in his retinue, and when he fell at Wakefield, perished promiscuously around him. But, when the sword had thus cut the only knot that linked their hearts together, the conflicting politics of England were as severally espoused in the sister country by partizans alike zealous and powerful. The triumphs of "the sun of York," while that sun was in the ascendant, were richly reflected on his satellites.

Accordingly, on the accession of Edward the Fourth, the Earl of Desmond was exalted to the honour of Lord Justice of Ireland, immediately after which he convened his Parliament to assemble in this town. The corporation and townsmen of Drogheda happily directing his attention to the fact, that during the government of Sir Edmund Butler,

at the instance of the Archbishop of Dublin, a bull of the Pope was procured, for the establishment of a university in Dublin, which, however, had declined from want of funds, besought him to effect a similar distinction for their town, the immemorial residence of the Primate of Ireland; and an Act was accordingly passed (5 Edw. IV. c. 46), of which the following is a translation: "Also at the request of the commons, because the land of Ireland has no university, nor place of general study within it, a work of which sort would cause a great increase of knowledge, riches, and good government, and would prevent riot, evil government, and extortion, within the said land; it is therefore ordained, established, and granted, by authority of Parliament, that there be a university in the town of Drogheda, in which may be made bachelors, masters, and doctors, in all sciences and faculties, as they are made in the university of Oxford; and that they may also have, occupy, and enjoy all manner of liberties, privileges, laws, and laudable customs, which the said university of Oxford hath occupied and enjoyed, so that it be not prejudicial to the mayor, sheriffs, nor commonalty of the said town of Drogheda." The political events of the period, however, prevented the consummation of this desirable object. Ireland as well as England was in a state of complete exhaustion during the reign of Edward the Fourth, and in that of Henry the Seventh, was much distracted, by the attempts of his enemies to make it the scene of contests and rebel-

lions, that they hoped would overturn his government; while the more immediate circumstance of the execution of the Earl of Desmond as a traitor, naturally attached an odium to all his measures, and particularly to that which contemplated the elevation of a secondary locality to a literary pre-eminence above the metropolis. Dublin continuing afterwards the fixed seat of the Parliament, and the ultimate establishment of a university there in 1591, seem to have extinguished the expectation, and almost the wish for realizing this honourable distinction. It may be added, that on the appointment of that Record Commission for Ireland, whose labours modern economy has unfortunately suspended, the Roll containing this Act was discovered in the Chancery Records, and possibly may suggest some future confirmatory enactment for the promotion of science and literature in this improving locality, with little present expense, and a fair prospect of great moral and pecuniary advantage to the town. It should not be omitted to state, what is not generally known, that nearly twenty years previous to the founding of Trinity College, her Majesty designed the establishment of another university, in Connaught, during the period that Sir Nicholas Malby governed that province. The eighth item of her instructions to him states her wish, that such a college should be erected in some eminent place of Ireland, for instructing and educating youth, and suggests the town of Clonfert as aptly situated, both for health and commodity of

the river Shannon running by it, and because it is also near the midst of the realm, and she actually commanded Sir Nicholas to view that place, and consider with what charges it might be enclosed with a wall; and what buildings were there at the time suited for the purpose, and what necessary to be added, and what maintenance the bishoprics of Clonfert and Elphin, if they were united to that college, might give towards the exhibition of learned men there: and, on the return of the report, her Majesty suggested, that she might thereafter order the Lord Justice to assemble the bishops of the whole realm, for a contribution for the maintenance of learned men, in that or some other convenient place in Ireland, "for we find that the runagates of that nation, which, under the pretence of study beyond the seas, do return fraught with superstition and treason, are the very instruments to stir up our subjects to undutifulness and rebellion"(a).

Immediately after the holding of the above legislative assembly, the Acts of which are not enrolled, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland, and, as soon as he entered on his official duties, he convened another Parliament here, in which eighty-four Acts were passed. By one it was provided, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the time being, might pass thereout to the adjacent islands, without avoidance of his office,

(a) MS. in British Museum, Titus, B. xii. p. 226.

or incurring the penalties of absenteeism. Statutes were likewise passed, to prohibit the purchase of bulls for benefices from Rome; to annul the king's pardon to provisors claiming title under bulls from the Pope; to remove the Courts of Exchequer and Common Pleas at the Lord Deputy's discretion(*a*); to confirm the right of the Abbot of St. Mary's near Dublin, in the manor of Scrine; that of the Archbishop of Dublin, in Dalkey and Ballymore Eustace; that of the King, to present to the Deanery of St. Patrick's; an Act of Resumption with divers savings; and lastly, an Act to attain that Earlof Desmond, who held here the preceding Parliament, as one guilty of high treason, by allying and fostering with the Irish (peremptorily forbidden by the Statute of Kilkenny), and supplying them with horses and arms, against the king's subjects. In further aggravation it was alleged, that he was the first English lord who imposed coign and livery(*b*), and raised his estate to

(*a*) Upwards of a century previous to this, the Courts of law were held in Carlow. In 1364, the King's Bench and its records were removed to Dublin, as were, in 1394, the Exchequer and Common Pleas, the encroachments of the bordering Irish having necessitated such removal. They were subsequently chiefly held in a portion of Christ Church, Dublin.

(*b*) Coign and livery was one of the most mischievous of the Irish customs; it consisted in levying provisions for man and horse, and likewise money, from all the inhabitants of the country, at the pleasure of the soldiery, who, amongst the Irish, received no other pay or purveyance; but when the English thus, as above, introduced it, they, as Sir John Davis describes, "used

immoderate greatness by that wicked extortion and oppression; that he was the first who rejected the English laws and government, and drew others by his example to similar insubordination; the first peer of Ireland who refused to attend Parliament on the royal summons; and the first that suggested a division between the English of blood and the English of birth. Under these charges the Earl was found guilty, and beheaded on the 15th of February, 1467; the melancholy scene took place, according to tradition, on the north commons of Drogheda, where the old gallows was formerly erected, and where it remained until the present Tholsel displaced it. His head was sent to Dublin, to be spiked on the wall of the Castle, and his body was interred in the Dominican friary as before mentioned.

The fate of this unfortunate nobleman is by some mainly attributed to his having advised the king not

it with more insolency, and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary or limited either in place or time, but because there was every where a continual war, either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a country, and every marcher, made war and peace at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetual, and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian or heathen kingdom. . . . It did produce two notorious effects: first, it made the land waste; next, it made the people idle, for when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier, in one night, did consume the fruit of all his labour; . . . so as this extreme extortion and oppression hath been the true cause of the idleness of this Irish nation, and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in foreign countries, than to manure their own fruitful land at home."

to marry the widow of Sir John Grey (whose husband was killed at the battle of St. Alban's), the king, however, did not heed his counsel, and the Earl, coming over to Ireland, assumed its government, with the most earnest wish to promote the royal interest; but, a dispute soon afterwards occurring between Edward and his Queen, the monarch is said to have hastily remarked to her, that if he had taken his cousin Desmond's advice, her pride would have been more humbled; of which she took present but silent note, and having afterwards, on a favourable opportunity, besought and learned from the monarch himself the particulars of the advice to which he had alluded, she soon effected the removal of the Earl from the government, and the appointment, in his place, of her own favourite, the above Earl of Worcester, whose measures against Desmond she so aided and abetted, that it is alleged she actually procured the warrant under the privy seal for his execution; while the Earl of Kildare, and Edward Plunkett, Esq., who were equally implicated with him, were, by the terms of the Act of Attainder, not only pardoned, but the former was made Lord Justice, and afterwards Lord Deputy to the Duke of Clarence. Immediately after the Earl's decapitation, his five sons rose in rebellion, and with banners displayed, burned and wasted the English settlements, but Edward, being involved in troubles at home, and perhaps conscious of his own injustice, transmitted a pardon for them, which they accepted, and even

James the eldest son, being recognized as the Earl, had a grant for the term of his life, of Kerry, with the town and castle of Dungarvan, similar to that which had been before conferred upon his father. Grace, in his Annals, noticing the death of Sir Thomas, a younger son of the above Earl, says of that father, that he was "slain by the swords of the wicked at Drogheda, or shall I rather say, was made a martyr of Christ, in the year of our Lord 1468."

At the close of that year, another Parliament was held here, on an adjournment from Dublin. The Roll contains the Acts of six sessions, in eighty-four chapters, and is in tolerable preservation. Of these only two have been printed, and one of them imperfectly. This latter, after reciting the English Act of the sixth year of Richard the Second's reign, "*de raptu mulierum*," and "that the people learned in this kingdom, have conceived some doubt, whether the Statute made in England ought to be of force in this land, without a confirmation thereof in this land, in avoiding of all inconvenience and mischief which might happen, because of the ambiguity of said Statute, it (as stated in the printed copy) enacted, by authority of the said Parliament, that the said Statute be adjudged and approved in force and strength, and that the same be of force in this land, and that henceforth the said Act, and all other Statutes and Acts made by authority of Parliament within the realm of England, be ratified and confirmed, and adjudged by the authority of this Parlia-

ment, in their force and strength." The original Act, however, which the compiler of this work has inspected on the Roll of Parliament, by no means justifies so early and extensive an anticipation of the spirit of Poyning's legislation, as the last part of the printed Statute would suggest. In this session was also passed a very extensive Act of Resumption, but which, besides the saving of all grants to the corporation of Drogheda, as alluded to in the Corporate History, contained also savings in favour of Richard, son and heir of Sir John Bellew; the Earl of Shrewsbury; Edmund Butler, in relation to the manors of Dunboyne, Clonfane, &c.; the Chantor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, the Dean and Chapter of the Trinity in Waterford, Christopher Bellew of Bellewstown, John Lech and Henry Smith, in respect of the office of customs and cokets within the ports and liberties of Dublin and Drogheda; Robert Taylor of Swords; Walron Wellesley, in reference to the manors of Donaghmore and Blackcastle; "the king's choice and dear friend" John Pylkington, in the office of Constable of the Castle of Wicklow, and any grants to him made in tail male of the manors of Turvey, Balscaddan, and Rushe; the portrief and commons of Cashel; the corporations of Kilkenny, Trim, Ardee, and Dundalk, and "the university granted to be held within the town of Drogheda by authority of Parliament," &c.

In this Session were also passed Acts for restoring the Liberty of Ulster, as in ancient times, with a power to the Lord Deputy to constitute all manner

of officers there; and for confirming the rights of the Archbishop of Dublin in the manor of Ballymore; Acts in favour of the corporation of this town, as noticed in the Corporate History; a murage grant for Naas, and an aid towards building a castle at Kilkullen; an Act for rewarding Nicholas Brun, who had taken John Hadsor of Keppock, which John had associated with the Irish enemy, married the daughter of Mac Mahon, murdered George Taaffe in prison, and thrown out his body to be devoured by dogs; an Act confirming the rights of Richard Bold, Baron of Ratoath, in the manor thereof, in tail male, subject to the yearly render of a gos-hawk; a confirmation of lands theretofore bequeathed to the proctors of the church of Kilsallaghan; a pardon to the mayor, &c., of Drogheda, for receiving or paying clipt money; an Act affirming the union of Ardbraccan; another ratifying a gift of lands to the chauntry of our Lady of Mallaghidart; a charter to Kells; an Act of attainder of Margaret, late Queen of England; a resumption of all feoffments and grants, made by the Fraternity of Tintern, in the county Wexford; a grant of customs to the town of Kells; an Act whereby, after reciting that the Archbishop of Dublin, being seised in right of his see of the manor of Ballymore, lying between the counties of Dublin and Kildare, among the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, Irish enemies, did of ancient times make constables thereof for life, or at will, which constables kept their residence there continually, and

especially in time of war, and that Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, predecessor to Michael Tregury, by the assent of his chapter, constituted Sir Richard Fitz-Eustace constable thereof, to him and the heirs male of his body; and granted him to receive in the same office, the profits of a mill of the annual value of £10, and £10 a year rent-charge off said lands; that said Richard Fitz-Eustace died, and Robert, his son and heir, occupied said office, but did not make his residence there, and on the contrary appointed as a sub-constable one Laurence O'Bogan, an Irishman both by father and mother, who by nature would discover the secrets of the English; that also said Robert Fitz-Eustace lodged his sheep in the vaults of the said castle, and wasted the same, and distrained the free tenants and burgesses of the same, under colour of said rent-charge; therefore, at the petition of Michael, Archbishop of Dublin, it is enacted, that the said Robert be compelled to keep a sufficient company of Englishmen, and no Irish, to guard said castle, and, if said Robert put any Irishman, not having his charter of liberty, to ward the said castle, that then it should be lawful for the said Archbishop and his successors to turn said Robert out of the said constablenesship, and to give the said office to any other for life, or years, &c.

In and previous to the year 1470, O'Reilly of Cavan, and his sept, to the number of upwards of 2000 men, having committed various outrages in the county of Louth, and vicinity of Drogheda, the mayor

of this town, at the instigation of the Archbishop of Armagh, selected 500 archers, and 200 pole-axe men, marched to Ardee, where he was joined by Sir Robert Taaffe, with 70 horse. The Primate being of the party, thereupon caused them to halt until he said a solemn mass, and gave the people his benediction, immediately on receiving which they marched to Corbally, near Malpas bridge, when a desperate engagement ensued, in which O'Reilly was defeated with the loss of 400 of his men. This battle, says Sir James Ware, was narrated in the "Register of the Mayors of Drogheda," and from it he professed to extract his account; but the venerable muniment is no longer forthcoming. In commemoration of this signal service to the state, as it was deemed, King Edward gave to this corporation a sword, to be carried before the mayor, and an annual sum of £20, towards the maintenance of the dignity. In 1471, William Crumpe and Thomas Barby were appointed Masters of the mint in the castles of Dublin and Trim, and in the town of Drogheda; but in three years afterwards were displaced, when Richard Heron was appointed for life master and worker of the mint within said places, and elsewhere in Ireland. In 1472, on the feast of St. Jerome, the bridge of Drogheda is recorded to have fallen down in consequence of a flood. In the same year, the Earl of Kildare, as deputy to the Duke of Clarence, convened a Parliament at Naas, which was adjourned to Dublin, wherein an Act was passed prohibiting the ex-

portation of staple wares to Scotland, without paying the king's custom called the coket, as it is done in Dublin and Drogheda. By another unprinted Act of this same Parliament, reciting that the king's sessions were appointed to be held in this town, in which there is no regular house to keep same, whether for the county of Meath, or for the county of Louth, it was enacted, that, when said sessions should be assigned to be held at Drogheda, all pleas arising within the counties of Meath and Louth might be held and determined within any place in said town, and that they should be of as great force as if they had been held within said counties of Meath and Louth, saving to the Mayor, Sheriffs, &c., of Drogheda all their liberties, franchises, &c. In the same session by another Act, reciting, that some merchants of Dublin and Drogheda, having been in England on account of trade, were on their return arrested in Chester, and other places, without reasonable cause, it was directed, that in every such case it should be lawful for the friends of merchants so unlawfully imprisoned, to arrest any English merchants in Ireland, or their goods, and to retain them until the merchants under capture in England should be delivered up.

In 1474, "that the state might not seem," as Sir John Davis says, "utterly to neglect the defence of the Pale," a fraternity of men at arms, called the Brotherhood of St. George, was erected by Parliament, consisting of thirteen of the most noble and worthy persons within the four shires, which alone

were then amenable to English law. They were to assemble annually at Dublin, on St. George's day, to express their zeal for English government; and to their captain, who was to be chosen for one year on their anniversary, was assigned as his train 120 archers on horseback, and forty other horsemen, with one attendant to each, the archers were to receive sixpence daily pay, the others for themselves and their attendants, five pence, with an annual stipend of four marks. This was the only standing force then maintained in Ireland, and a tax was established for their support; but from which the freemen of Drogheda and Dublin were specially exempted. Of the first foundation were the Mayor of Drogheda, Sir Laurence Taaffe, and Richard Bellew, for the county of Louth.

The family of Bellew, thus distinguished in the select formation of a fraternity, whose object was to promote the peace and safety of Ireland, and the intercourse and friendship of England, was originally of Norman descent, came with the Conqueror into the latter kingdom, and with Strongbow into the former; and in both countries has been so projected on the annals of the middle ages, as to exhibit no less than eighteen knights of the pre-eminently chivalrous order of the banner, while peers and distinguished individuals of the same lineage are most numerous over the rolls of Parliament, but whose honours, by failure of issue, or yet more by attainders, have, in common with those of many other noble houses, become extinct. Meath and Louth were the

places of their early settlement in Ireland, and the first notice of record connects them with Bellewstown, to which they had given name; it occurs at the commencement of the fourteenth century, and purports to be a royal mandate to the king's escheator, to assign dower over Bellewstown to Alicia D'Alton, the widow of James Bellew, whose nephew John, the son of John Bellew, is therein stated to be heir male of said James. In 1373, this John Bellew was summoned to a great council, and in 1375 was commanded to attend Parliament, as one of the "Fideles" of Ireland. In 1376 James Bellew obtained a royal grant for his life, of parcels of the possessions of the Abbeys of Newry and Armagh, then in the hands of the Crown, by reason that those religious fraternities were mere Irish, and established amongst the Irishry. In 1399 Walter, the son of Roger Bellew, was seised in tail male of a carucate of land at Bellewstown, with pasture, wood, bog, a mill and two weirs. About the same time Sir John Bellew was knighted by the Earl of March; he was afterwards sheriff of the county of Louth; in 1403 had for his especial services a grant in fee of Roche's castle, and its demesne which had been forfeited by James White, and in the following year was joined in commission with the Archbishop of Armagh, and John D'Arcy, to hold in the king's name, convocations of the clergy, magnates, peers and commons of the county Louth, in the absence of the Lord Deputy. In 1408, he was found seised of three carucates of

land in Bellewstown, four in Baronstown and Verdonstown, near the Roche, the manor of Roche, part of that of Dundalk, &c.; and in 1413, he was empowered, jointly with Christopher de Preston, John Loundres, Robert Cadell, Christopher Plunkett, and John Dardis, to hold conventions composed of two of the best men from each barony of Meath, to treat on, and ordain what measures would be most befitting for the good government of said county. Soon afterwards, by marriage with Anastatia, the widow of David Wogan, he acquired her dower income, extending over large and numerous townlands in the counties of Meath and Kildare, with the custody and wardship of the infant heir; he had also parcels of land within the manor of Duleek, and claimed the advowson of the vicarage of Dundalk. Another Sir John Bellew, stiled of Bellewstown, intermarried with Catherine Leyns, of the ancient family of Croboy and the Knock, and by her had Philip Bellew, afterwards Mayor of Dublin, and who, dying in 1466, bequeathed to the Priory of Christ Church, "a cope of cloth of gold." In 1474, Richard Bellew enjoyed the honour which has led to this notice, and in 1488, Christopher Bellew of Bellewstown, was one of the gentry who did homage in the presence of Sir Richard Edgecombe, when, after Simnel's rebellion, that officer was despatched to recal the shaken allegiance of the Anglo-Irish. Other notices of Bellews of Roche, of Verdonston, and of Heynstown, during this century, occur in the progress of this work. In

1537, Nicholas Bellew of Weston, made his will, whereby he established and endowed a chapelry in the parish church of the Naul. His estates lineally descended to Bartholomew Bellew, whose heiress, Mary, in 1628, on her marriage, carried them to the Husseys of Galtrim. In 1563, Sir John Bellew of Bellewstown and Duleek, was appointed commissioner for the preservation of the peace and good government of the county of the town of Drogheda and county of Louth, during the absence of the Lord Deputy Sussex, on his expedition against Shane O'Neill. In 1585, Richard Bellew of Verdonstown, one of his sons, was a representative of Dundalk in Queen Elizabeth's Parliament. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, Sir John Bellew of Willystown, great grandson of the before mentioned Sir John, was representative for Louth in the Parliament of 1639; he intermarried with Mary, daughter of Robert Dillon of Clonbrock, from which union have descended the present Baronets of Barmeath and Mount Bellew. This Sir John Bellew was one of the committee, whom the Irish Parliament deputed to repair to the king in England, and who, as Borlase relates, was there most graciously received; he was afterwards one of the confederate Catholics who assembled at Kilkenny. Sir Christopher Bellew, of the Bellewstown line, was, shortly previous to the civil war of 1641, empowered to govern and command such forces as he could raise for the defence of the country, and to whom arms should

be supplied by the state ; he was afterwards one of those who felt necessitated to attend the celebrated meeting on the hill of Crofty, and, however affected his estates were in consequence thereof, the Act of Settlement contained an express saving of the rights of his son John Bellew. On the accession of King James, this John Bellew was knighted, appointed one of that monarch's earliest councillors, and soon afterwards created an Irish peer as Baron Bellew of Duleek, in right whereof he sat in King James's Parliament. In 1689 he commanded a regiment in that monarch's service, and was severely wounded at Aghrim, for which adherence to the Stuart, he was outlawed in 1691, but being comprehended within the Articles of Limerick, his estates were restored to his son Richard, who became the third Baron of Duleek, on the death of his elder brother Walter, the second Lord Bellew, without issue ; the estates were, during his possession, the subject of various private Acts of Parliament. The heir of this Richard, John Lord Bellew, was the last of that line, having died at Lisle without issue male. His eldest daughter was married to Lord Viscount Taaffe, but his nephew, Lord Boyne, inherited his estates. Returning to the line of Sir John of Willystown, his eldest son, Patrick, was Sheriff of Louth in 1687, took up his residence at Barmeath, and obtained in 1688 the honour of a baronetcy, which has lineally descended through Sir John Bellew of Barmeath and Castle Bellew, Sir Edward Bellew, his eldest son and

heir, to Sir John, eldest son and heir of said Sir Edward. This last mentioned Sir John died without issue, when Sir Patrick, his next brother, succeeded, and through his eldest son and heir, Sir Edward, the title and estates are lineally inherited by the present Sir Patrick the younger. Sir Michael Dillon Bellew, by similar succession, represents the line of Christopher Bellew, the second son of Sir John of Willystown; and both Baronets afford that best, but rarest test of Irish patriotism—they are excellent landlords. The only brother of Sir Patrick, Mr. Richard Montesquieu Bellew, is one of the representatives of the county of Louth.

In the Parliament held in Christ Church, Dublin, in 1475, it was enacted, that no knights, citizens, or burgesses, should be returned or admitted to appear in any Parliament thereafter to be holden, unless they should be resident within the places for which they were returned; and that all knights of counties should expend, or be in possession of fee simple, fee tail, or of freehold property within such respective counties, to the value of forty shillings by the year, “except the citizens of the town and county of Drogheda.” At the same session it was enacted, that all manner of felonies, treasons, trespasses, contempts, and offences, and all actions of debt and trespass, assizes of novel disseisin, and all other actions arising within the counties of Meath and Louth, might be taken, held, and determined within the town of Drogheda; and such trials should be as effectual as if determined within

those particular counties. The second ensuing year witnessed the extraordinary anomaly of two Irish viceroys contending for paramount authority, the one holding a Parliament at Naas, and the other in this town, while the king, with royal selfishness, actually sanctioned, by his assent on record, such of these enactments as were beneficial to his revenue; accordingly, in a Close Roll preserved in the Chancery of Ireland, is comprised "the king's will, determination, commandment, and pleasure, upon the Parliaments holden late at Naas and Drogheda, and upon the Parliament that shall be now next holden within his land of Ireland. Whereas there have been great variances of late in our said land of Ireland, upon two Parliaments there last holden, the one at the Naas, the other at Drogheda, whichever of them should be of authority, we have hereupon taken such directions as followeth: first, we consider that in the two Parliaments were commenced and concluded principally two Acts, the one touching the grants of certain subsidies for the weal and defence of our said land; the second concerned resumptions, as well of offices, as of our revenues;" both of which, after this recital, his Majesty confirms as alike valid, and of full force.

Of those passed at Drogheda, as they were never printed, it may be here noticed, one recites, that the Bishop of Meath, then Lord Deputy, had undertaken to go into England, to solicit the king for the relief of this land, and has been often before this time so

occupied in the camp with hostages, that he could not depart in his proper person out of said camp, without damage to the said country, or go to any place where the Parliament is held, to continue, prorogue, or adjourn same. It therefore enacts, that it shall be lawful for the said Deputy, to substitute an honest person, under his privy seal, to perform such duties.—By another Statute, the new custom of poundage was abolished; the Act that had established it repealed; and it was further directed, that none should be thenceforth compellable to pay it, provided that all those who are bound by tenure shall, as necessity requires, go and ride, or send others in their room, with the inhabitants of the city of Dublin and town of Drogheda, for the defence of the land.—A third Statute enjoined that every lord of Parliament should appear there in robes, under penalty of £100; and that every Judge and Baron should also appear in robes.—By another it was provided, that if any Englishman be damaged by an Irishman not amenable to law, he shall be reprised out of the whole sept or nation of the party doing the injury, according to the discretion of the Chief Governor of the land and the King's Council.—A fifth Statute, after reciting that Richard Power is Sheriff of Waterford, and has been such for upwards of twenty years past, during which interval he had done many injuries, both by sea and land, to the citizens of Waterford, and to persons resorting for trade thither, English, French, Spaniards, Portuguese,

Britons, and Flemings, and, as in all the counties around said city there live no lords, gentlemen, or commons, arranged in English habit, nor submitting to the king's obedience, nor who are governed by any laws save those called Brehon, therefore, as the Mayor, &c., of said city are the king's faithful subjects, it was enacted, that they shall thenceforth have the election of the sheriffs of said city, and that said Richard Power be, and was thereby divested of such office.—“ Likewise, at the prayer of Andrew Tuite, gentleman, whereas there is a common and open road for the Irish enemies of the king, between Rathconnell and Quaylan (Cullen), to come and enter into the county of Westmeath, for the destruction thereof, and for which cause the said Andrew, in the most dangerous place of the said road, hath made a tower, upon the vault whereof is a singular refuge for all the said county, and if a trench were made there, a mile or less in length, the said enemies should have no entrance by that road in said county, the which trench the said Andrew is not able to make, and the common people there inhabiting are so poor, that they cannot attend to the making thereof; whereupon consideration being had, it is ordained, enacted, and established, and also granted, by authority of said Parliament, that it shall be lawful for the said Andrew to take and receive, for every cow, and for every bullock, and for every horse, pack of every merchandize, or victuals, that shall come or go by or near that road, one penny, to help to make the

said trench, and to last for fifteen years, considering that none or few except Irish enemies, come or go by, or very near the said road, with any manner of merchandize, except the freemen of the city of Dublin, the town of Drogheda, the holy Church, and the freemen of the town of Athboy, and every of them, provided he shall find surety to make said trench within said years, and the same competently made so to leave."

In 1479, Ireland was so universally afflicted with the plague, that, after several adjournments of Parliament from one town to another, the legislature was only enabled at length to hold a short session in Trim. Drogheda was decimated in this visitation; and it is of tradition, that the malady was so violent at Leytown, a little village at the mouth of the Nanny, not far from this town, and which was theretofore a thriving fishery port, that all its wherries, without hands to man them, were left rotting on the beach. The little harbour that then existed there was much used for surreptitious traffic, as a place where no customs or duties were exacted. It has been long since choked up, by the action and reaction of the alluvion of the river, and the silt of the sea. In 1484, Redmond Mac Mahon, Lord of Oriel, died in this town, where he was then held in captivity. Another Act of Resumption, which took place in 1485, on the accession of Henry the Seventh, in reference to the grants made by Richard the Third, specially excepted that which had been made to

John Byrd, of, or for the offices of water-bailiff of Dublin and Drogheda(*a*). About this time, Doctor Matthew Sanders, who afterwards became Bishop of Leighlin, was born near this town.

In July, 1488, Sir Richard Edgecombe arrived here from Dublin, to recal the allegiance of those who had adopted the cause of Perkin Warbeck, the first scenes of whose imposture were craftily laid in Ireland, as in a country removed from the facilities of scrutiny, and amongst a people more generally devoted to the old and legitimate line of monarchy. The Mayor and Burgesses of Drogheda immediately appeared before him, as self-acknowledged offenders, and took the oaths of homage and fealty in his presence at the Tholsel, whereupon they received full pardon and favour, through his Majesty's letters patent, in the Guildhall; "and he took of them sureties for their good abearing towards the King's Grace, and his heirs, and that done, he delivered to them the king's letters of pardon, under his great seal, and lay all that day within that town, and had right good cheer." In the same year, at a Parliament held here, the bounds of the "four obedient shires," that then constituted the Pale (Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Uriel or Louth), were expressly defined in a manner that marked a line from Ardee "to the water of Dundugan, and so as that water goeth to the sea," as the Northern limit of the county of

(*a*) Roll of Parliament.

Louth; so says the "*Liber Niger*;" but the Roll of this Parliament cannot be found. The Annals of the Four Masters record, at 1489, with much simplicity, that all the sheep of Meath, along the coast from Dublin to Drogheda, having gone into the sea in spite of their shepherd, were drowned.

In 1493, Sir Robert Preston, the first Viscount Gormanstown, and who had previously been Deputy Keeper of the Great Seal, having been created Deputy to the Duke of Bedford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, held a legislative assembly here, whose Statutes are, however, no longer extant, having been, in a Parliament assembled also here in the following year, declared void for three causes; first, because the Duke, whose deputy he had been so appointed, resigned before the time of summoning the Parliament; secondly, because the writs of summons to attend it were not general, but only directed to the four counties; and thirdly, because in the king's letters patent by which he was made deputy, there was no power granted to him to convoke a legislative assembly.

On the occasion of this Parliament, so last alluded to (one of considerable legislative importance, and which was held by the Lord Deputy Poynings), the powers of the Lord Treasurer of Ireland were enlarged, while the terms for holding the chief offices of the State were limited to the king's pleasure; the Statutes against provisors to Rome were made law in this country; acreable subsidies for the service of the state were established, while the profits of the

Crown were yet more increased by a resumption of all royal grants, from the close of Edward the Second's reign, and by a poundage directed to be paid in perpetuity, out of all merchandize imported and exported. In recompence for this new form of taxation, the ancient impositions of coign and livery were utterly abolished. The preamble to this latter Statute affords a melancholy picture of the state of the country at the period. "At the request and supplication of the commons of this land of Ireland, that where of long time there hath been used and exacted by the lords and gentlemen of this land many and divers damnable customs and usages, called coign and livery, and pay, that is horse meat and man's meat; besides many murders, robberies, rapes, and other manifold extortions and oppressions, by the said horsemen and footmen, daily and nightly committed and done, which being the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of the said land, hath brought the same into ruin and decay, so as the most part of the English freeholders and tenants of this land be departed out thereof, some into the realm of England, and other some into other strange lands; whereupon the aforesaid lords and gentlemen of this said land have intruded into the said freeholders' and tenants' inheritance, and the same keepeth and occupieth as their own, and setten under them to the king's Irish enemies, to the diminishing of holy Church's rites, the disherison of the king and his obedient subjects, and the utter ruin and desolation

of the land." Another Act of this session is yet further declaratory of the state of Ireland at that time. It recites: "As the marches of four shires lie open, and not fensible in fastness of ditches and castles, by which Irishmen do great hurt in preying the same, it is enacted, that every inhabitant, earthtiller, and occupier in said marches, i. e. in the county of Dublin, from the water of Annaliffey, to the mountain of Kildare, from the water of Annaliffey to Trim, and soforth to Meath and Uriel, as said marches are made and limited by an Act of Parliament, held by William, Bishop of Meath, do build and make a double ditch of six feet high above ground at one side or part which meareth next unto Irishmen, betwixt this and next Lammas, the said ditches to be kept up and repaired as long as they shall occupy said land, under pain of forty shillings, the lord of said lands to allow the old rent of said lands to the builder for one year, under said penalty. The Archbishop of Dublin, and the Sheriff of the county of Dublin, the Bishop and Sheriff of Kildare, the Bishop and Sheriff of Meath, the Primate of Armagh, and the Sheriff of Uriel (county Louth), to be commissioners within their respective shires, with full power to call the inhabitants of said four shires to make ditches in the waste or fasagh lands without the said marches." It was also on this occasion enacted, that none should be admitted an alderman, juror, or free-man in any town, save such as had been a prentice or inhabitant therein, and other wholesome regula-

tions were made for the better government of corporations; the Statutes of Kilkenny were confirmed, and all other acts for the common weal directed to be inquired into, and drawn up in two books; archery was encouraged, public butts established to shoot at, and the marchers were required to report their available retainers. Compromises of felonies were prohibited, as was also inciting the Irishry to rebellion, or keeping of ordnance or artillery by any subject, without the king's license; the custody of certain castles was reserved exclusively for Englishmen, and the war-cries of the septs were abolished. But the most important Statute of the Session was one by which all Acts lately made, "as well by his majesty as by his royal progenitors, late kings of England, within the realm of England, concerning the common and public weal of the same, were accepted and confirmed to be used in Ireland, according to the tenor and effect thereof;" and another whereby it was declared, that no Parliament should be held in Ireland, until the causes and considerations for holding it were first certified by the deputy and council to the king, with the scope of the Acts proposed to be passed, whereupon, and on the king's affirmation thereof, the Parliament might be held. This great constitutional measure thus passed at a period when the English Pale comprised scarcely four counties, was yet for centuries acquiesced in, on the supposition, that before that Act the Lords Lieutenant of Ireland, could call Parliaments by their own sole

authority, but while this, if true, could not justify the abridging the rights of a domestic Parliament, the fact is otherwise. The commissions are extant on record, by which every former Parliament had been called in this country, and the Act condemning Lord Gormanston's Parliament, because it wanted the preceding authority of a commission, is powerfully declaratory of the necessity of such powers.

It may be observed, that of forty Acts passed in this session, only twenty-three have been printed. Amongst these that were never printed appear one, abolishing coign and livery and other like impositions ; a general Act of resumption, from the last day of Edward the Second, with a great many exceptions; an Act avoiding all manner of records, stiles, pardons, liveries, acts and ordinances of council, done in the name of "the Ladde" (i. e. Perkin Warbeck); an Act whereby, reciting that Ireland is a land separate from England, it is ordained, that, when the Viceroyalty thereof becomes vacant by death or surrender, the Treasurer shall be Justice and Governor until his Majesty's appointment can be made known; another empowering the Lord Chancellor to continue or prorogue Parliaments in the absence of the Deputy; one authorizing an inquiry into alienations of Church property ; and another directing the manner and course of a rampart or ditch, thereby ordered to be made around the Pale. Sir John Davis remarks of these Statutes, that they effected little towards the amelioration of Ireland; "they did not spread their

example, and of consequence could not restrain. The sufferings of this country from oppressive exactions, unnatural feuds, hostile expeditions of its governors against the natives, originating in personal animosity or private interest, ruinous to the subject, without benefit to the state; laws forgotten, neglected, or defied; an increasing degeneracy, a general ignorance, and a scandalous inattention to the instruction or improvement of the people, are very fully detailed in this little treatise; while the remedies proposed are, the transmitting of a force out of England, adequate to support the authority of a chief governor of integrity and impartiality; a supply of garrisons to overawe enemies and rebels, an earnestness in putting down local dissensions, and a gradual, but steady application of state energies, to reduce the whole population to a sincere obedience; a substitution of equitable and moderate taxation for arbitrary impositions, with other wholesome regulations, some of which were afterwards adopted.

About the year 1500, Octavian de Palatio, being Primate, with the consent of his Dean and Chapter, gave and granted his manse at St. Laurence's gate, in this town, together with all its houses, gardens, and easements (reserving only the great chamber and the chapel of said manse), the grantee to hold same for his life, paying the chief rent to the Sheriffs of Drogheda; and also covenanting to keep the premises in repair, and to allow the Primate enlarged accommodation, whenever he chose to take his resi-

dence there(a). In 1501 the market cross was erected here by John Ball, at his own expense. In 1504, a provincial Synod, convened here by the aforesaid Octavian, was, on account of the prevalent plague, adjourned, as before mentioned, to Ardee, and even thence "*sine die*," from the same cause. In this latter year the Annals record, that the townsmen of Drogheda, with the Mayor of Dublin, the Viscount Gormanston, Barons Slane, Delvin, Howth, Trimleston, and Dunsany, and William O'Farrel, Bishop of Ardagh (previously Lord of Annaly), even after his consecration, joined the forces of the Earl of Kildare, then Lord Deputy, and encountering Ulick Burke, the Lord of Thomond, O'Carrol, and others of their party, signally defeated them at Knocto, or the Mount of Axes, a few miles from Galway. The fight was sharply continued for some hours with equal loss on both sides, but at last victory fell to Kildare's; each party, however, lost about 1000 men. Only half of the county of Louth (Uriel) was at this time subject to English dominion, while the other half paid a yearly tribute of £40 to "the great O'Neill." In 1506, during the Mayoralty of John Wyrrel, the bridge of Drogheda was rebuilt after its destruction before alluded to.

In 1520, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, Lord Admiral of England, Wales, and Ireland, came over as Lord Lieutenant, with 100 of the guards, and a

(a) Registry of Armagh, MS.

thousand others, horse and foot. About the time of his arrival in Ireland, Con (Boccagh) O'Neill, who had, by popular election, succeeded his brother in the principality of Ulster, invaded Meath with a large but ill-disciplined army; Surrey hastened to encounter him, and, adding to his own forces such local array as Meath, Louth, and Drogheda could afford, he marched to Slane, but O'Neill was so awed by his character, and the well known discipline of his forces, that "he retired so fast that the Lord Lieutenant could neither find him nor his army; but not long after he sent letters to implore pardon, which was granted him on promise of future obedience. In October the king wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, that there will never be a thorough reformation in Ireland until all the Irish are amenable to law, and have the benefit of it; and not long after a commission of martial law, and of conferring knight-hood, was sent to the Viceroy, and he was ordered to knight O'Neill and other Irish potentates; and the king sent a collar of gold to O'Neill, and ordered Surrey to prevail with him if possible to visit the Court of England, in hopes to inure him to civility and a regular way of living, and the same letter ordered the Lord Lieutenant to propose a match between the Earl of Ormond's son, and Sir Thomas Bullen's daughter"(a), which marriage was afterwards consummated. In 1521 the same Lord Lieu-

(a) Cox's Ireland, vol. i. p. 209.

tenant, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, besought his Grace "to be favourable unto Sir William D'Arcy, of Platten, that by his good favour he may obtain the king's grant for the term of his life of the office of the customership of the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk, which undoubtedly he hath right well deserved." In that year the inhabitants of Drogheda joined the forces of Surrey in an expedition to put down O'Connor, O'Carrol, and others of the Irishry, who had invaded the Pale. In one of the engagements consequent upon this feud, Edward Plunkett, Baron of Dunsany, was slain. In 1524, the Irish marchers of this vicinity bound themselves in a recognizance to the Crown, not to exact coign or livery, to attend the king in military service, and to aid his ministers and officers in the dispensation of the laws. Amongst the obligees on this occasion, were George Drake, of Drakerath; Oliver Plunkett, of Tallonston; Robert Plunkett, Lord of Dunsany; Christopher Plunkett, of Rathmore; Sir John Plunkett, of Bewly; Sir Walter Bedlowe (Bellew), of Roche; Thomas Verdon, of Raffyn; George D'Arcy, of Rathvill; Peter Taaffe, of Ballybragan; Nicholas Hussey, of Galtrim; Walter de la Hoyde, of Moyclare; James Gernon, of Killincool; Peter Leyns, of the Knock; Christopher Bellew, of Bellewstown; Richard Hadsore, of Drogheda; William More, of Barmeath; Edmund Dowdall, of Rathesker; Nicholas Clinton, of Stabannon; Patrick Gernon, of Gernonstown; James Verdon, of Glennys; Thomas Babe,

of Derver; Christopher Taaffe, of Stephenstown; George Gernon, of Miltown; Robert Gernon, of Stayre; John Plunkett, of Mansfieldstown; Gerald Wellesley, of Dangan; John Taaffe, of Cookstown; William Bellew, of Verdonstown; Philip Bellew, of Heynstown; John Dowdal, of Glaspistol; each of whom was bound in the sum of £40, to perform the conditions of the recognizance.

The names of three individuals occur in this array of marchers, which claim some notice. Gerald Wellesley, of Dangan, was the ancestor of the Duke of Wellington; he held said manor of Dangan by the tenure of Grand Serjeantcy, viz., by the honourable duty of bearing the standard of the lord the king in his wars in Ireland. On his death, in 1539, livery of his estates was granted to his son and heir William Wellesley of Dangan.—Peter Leyns was the representative of a family, that had early settled in the neighbourhood of Dangan; he appeared in 1532 on the hill of Owenstown, on a royal summons, for military service, in right of his lay fee at Croboy, the Knock, &c. In a few years afterwards, he was implicated in the rebellion of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, the silken lord; his heirs, however, maintained possession of the estates, until their misguided devotion to the Stuart line vested them, on alleged claims as by forfeiture, in the Crown, and led to their transplantation into Connaught, and the grant of their former estates to the Rowleys, afterwards ennobled with the title of Langford.—Christopher Plunkett

was in 1556 distrained to do homage and fealty to the Crown, as by the tenure of his estate; when he pleaded, confessing that he held those estates on the tenure, and entered same in the manner alleged, and that he was prepared "to do homage to King Philip and Queen Mary within the kingdom of Ireland, if they be present there; but, inasmuch as they were not within that kingdom, he seeks the judgment of the Court," &c.

In the State Papers of 1528 is preserved a letter from the Duke of Norfolk (who had then considerable estates in Ireland, of which he was soon afterwards deprived by the Act of Absentees) to Cardinal Wolsey, wherein he writes matter so illustrative of the state of this vicinity, and so creditable to the character of a merchant of Drogheda, as well merits insertion. "Pleaseth it your Grace to be advertised, that this bearer, called Thomas Bathe, a merchant of the town of Drogheda in Ireland, on his return from Walsingham, hath been here with me, and by him I perceive what miserable state and great danger that poor land is now in. He is a gentleman of good blood, a true man, and one that doth more love the wealth of that land, than any of the parties of the Geraldines or Butlers, and hath done more to cause O'Neill to contain from war, than any man of that land, to his great charges. If it might please your Grace to call him unto you, and to command him to shew you the truth, you shall know many things by him; one thing I note much which he hath shewed

me: the most part of the marchers upon Irishmen, perceiving not how to be defended, have so practised with the Irishmen next adjoining to them, that the said Irishmen do come through them, and do hurt to others within them, and they take no hurt. If this be not remedied, the land will be clean overrun and spoiled, and £20,000 will not repair the hurts that shall be done ere mid-September. Your Grace, by your great wisdom, hath done so much, that I trust peace shall ensue among Christian princes, to the great laud of our Master, your Grace, and this realm. Most humbly beseeching your Grace, as well for the honour of his Highness, your Grace, and of this realm, now, in this time of great need, so to look upon the poor land of Ireland, that it take not more hurt this year, than it hath done in any year since the first conquest, which was never so likely to ensue as now, considering the great weakness of good captains of the Englishry, as lack of men of war, and also the great dissension between the greatest bloods of the land, and the Irishmen never so strong as now." In 1531, Surrey made an expedition into Ulster, "whence he returned loaded with prey and plunder, according to the custom of those times; and with this achievement Hugh O'Donnell was frightened into a submission, which (being himself sick) he performed by his deputies, Con O'Faghil, Abbot of Derry, and Richard O'Croghan, who, in the behalf of their master, perfected indentures, and swore fealty to the king, in presence of the Lord Deputy

at Tredagh [Drogheda], on the 6th of May, 1531; and at the same time, it is probable, he made the proposal, mentioned by Sir John Davis, that if the lord the king would be willing to reform Ireland, he and his would gladly be governed by the laws of England"(a).

In 1534, Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, then in rebellion, meditated the siege of this town, having been, as suggested by Cox, exasperated against its inhabitants, for aiding in the capture of Brode, a noted pirate, but an adherent of his, whom the English fleet had run on shore here. The projected attack is spoken of in a despatch from Sir William Brereton to King Henry. "The 27th of October, at night, there came a friar from Tredagh unto your Grace's said Deputy, and unto us, and shewed us that he met that morning three or four hundred horsemen of Thomas Fitz Gerald's company, going to lay siege to the town of Tredagh, with Thomas Fitz Gerald; and the morrow after, being Simon and Jude's day, leaving certain of our company to keep the town and castle of Dublin, we went with the said Deputy to defend the said town of Tredagh, and came there that night, being twenty long miles from Dublin; and when we came there, we lay seven long days, and many lords and gentlemen of the country there, resorted to us daily, from day to day, during the said space, and, when the said lords and gentlemen were put in and kept the same countries, the said Deputy and we came to Dublin." While

(a) Cox's Ireland, vol. i. p. 223.

in Drogheda, the Lord Deputy proclaimed Fitz Gerald a traitor, at the high cross of the town. It was after this Lord Thomas caused the massacre of the Archbishop of Dublin, burned that city from the New Gate outward, and routed the English forces from Slieve Ruagh to Drogheda, "so that the entire of Meath was a place of terror, by reason of his expedition"(a). The arrival of a new Lord Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, caused little change in affairs; such was the infirm state of his health, that "he was unable for some time to take the field, and not only himself, but almost the whole of his army and officers, lay for a considerable time shut up and inactive within the walls of Dublin and Drogheda. Meanwhile "there raged throughout the whole kingdom a confused medley of petty warfare, in which, from the consanguinity of the Geraldine families with both of the rival races, the rebel camp was filled with a motley array of English and Irish, while on the royal side, the greater number of the northern chieftains had ranged themselves under the flag of loyalty and the English"(b). Amongst the measures which Baron Finglas at this time promulgated, as calculated to advance the common weal, was a recommendation, "that the city of Dublin and the town of Drogheda, and the town of Dundalk, do go with the king's deputy, when required, to hostings, and that in consideration thereof, their customs and poundage be

(a) Annals of the Four Masters.

(b) Moore's Ireland, vol. iii. p. 259.

forgiven them yearly (an advice which was soon after adopted by special ordinance): that the Mayors, however, of Dublin and Drogheda, should not be charged to go in their proper persons to the field, except it be within the four shires; but one of the Sheriffs of Drogheda to go with twenty-four bows, with a banner of footmen, and all the bows of the county of Louth to go still with the banner, and the banner to go still with the banner of Meath. Item, that no merchant, nor his servant, shall go out of the cities and towns wherein they dwell, to the intent to buy or sell any manner of wares, and that they, which dwell in Dublin and Drogheda, shall bargain wares with them which dwell in the borough towns in the country. Item, that no ship, nor pickard, break bulk from the Head of Wicklow to the Leytown, but only in Dublin, Drogheda, and a part in Dundalk, at the discretion of Drogheda, upon pain of forfeiture of all their goods."

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Crown and the legislature, to abolish the extortion of coign and livery, the practice still ruinously continued in this vicinity, as feelingly deposed in representations to the existing government(*a*) of this period, by Justice Luttrell. Of this Judge it cannot be omitted to mention, that to his exertions posterity is mainly indebted for the preservation of the public Records and Rolls of Chancery, which he found deposited

(*a*) D'Alton's History of the Co. Dublin, p. 38.

in a ruinous tower of Dublin Castle, at a considerable distance from St. Patrick's Cathedral, where the Courts were then kept; but, by an order of Council, he effected their removal to the library of that Cathedral, where the Clerk of the Hanaper was ordered to provide presses, chests, doors, locks, and all other necessities, as well in said library, as in the better portion of the tower, for their safe custody. In 1542, and subsequently, this Judge passed patent for a large portion of the possessions of the Priory of Lismullen, including the manor: he was afterwards elevated to the Chief Justiceship of the Queen's Bench, and resided until his death at Luttrellstown, near Dublin.

In 1537, King Henry the Eighth, being seised of a close containing two acres and a half, and three messuages in Drogheda, one of which was called the Fuller's Inn, demised same, with the appurtenances, to Edward Beck of Mornington, who was afterwards a patentee of a portion of the possessions of the Dominican friary of Drogheda, as hereinbefore mentioned. In the same year was passed a Statute (unprinted), whereby it was ordained, that all Acts made by Anthony St. Leger and the Lord High Commissioners, with the consent of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Lord Chancellor, the Prior of Kilmainham, the Bishop of Meath, the Lord of Howth, the Master of the Rolls, the three Chief Judges, and the Recorders of Dublin and Drogheda, touching the reformation and inhabitancy of the Marches, and

other prescribed objects, should be of like force as if enacted in Parliament. In the following year (1538), the Lord Deputy, Lord Leonard Gray, wrote to Secretary Crumwell: "I have cut divers passes in the county of Ferney, at which time I being in the said county of Ferney, O'Neill was gathered a great host, threatening daily, for that he was not paid his wages, not only to have letted me of my purpose in Ferney, in taking part with them, and securing their goods and chattels, but also to have preyed, spoiled, and burnt to your Grace's town of 'Draheda,' which was contrary to his peace, oath, and promise; whereupon I sent to your towns of 'Draheda,' Ardee, and Dundalk, for company to assist me against the said O'Neill, of whom I was very well answered, and specially of your town of 'Draheda;' wherein they have deserved your Grace's thanks, which I most humbly desire your Highness it may be sent to them in writing, whereby I doubt not the same shall encourage the same and others to do like, at times requisite. With which company I repaired towards the borders of O'Neill, where, as he hearing of my coming towards him, withdrew himself with his company in the night, and on the morrow sent his messenger to me, that he would abide to all such things as he was bound to his former peace, and thereupon I concluded with the said O'Neill." Another document of this year says, "the truth is, that the name and estimation of the Mayors of Dublin and Drogheda, with such others of the

borough towns, and the lords of the Englishry, be more feared with Irishmen, than the double as many of common people not known."

In the following year (1539), the Lord Deputy having come to this town, with the object of defending the Pale from O'Neill, wrote to the Lord Chancellor to come to him hither, that they might consult on the best course to be pursued. "And the said Deputy being so at Drogheda, there came to him the Treasurer and Chief Justice, and considering the Lord Chancellor came not, the Lord Deputy wrote again to the said Lord Chancellor, to repair to him, who wrote to the Lord Deputy he should write for the rest of the king's council, and then to certify him thereof, then he would wait on his Lordship, advertising him he had no idle expenses; and so came not to the Lord Deputy till the Friday night next ensuing, within night; in which the Lord Deputy thought he did not his duty thus to treat him, considering the hurts the king's subjects might have sustained by reason of long tarrying, whereas it was requisite of hasty remedy"(a). In this year was fought the memorable battle of Bellahoa, where the Deputy, with the forces of the Pale, and the Mayors and citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, utterly defeated O'Neill, and recovered all the prey of the Pale, and continued the pursuit till the sunset. The Deputy exceeded the rest, as much in courage as authority,

(a) State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII.

and behaved himself exceedingly bravely, and after the battle knighted Chief Justice Aylmer; Talbot, of Malahide; Fitzsimons, Mayor of Dublin; and Michael Courcy, Mayor of Drogheda, in the field; and (as Cox observes) well they merited it for their good service in obtaining so great a victory, which broke the power of the North, and quieted the borders for some years. In 1540, it was proposed to repeal the Acts, which directed that no Irish Parliament should be holden but only in Dublin or Drogheda; the proposition was not, however, carried into effect until two years afterwards. Lord Leonard Grey, the Lord Deputy, passed here the close of the year 1540, and some of his despatches and letters to the king, dated from "Your Grace's town of Drogheda," are extant. One of the subsequent charges against this unfortunate nobleman is in these words; "By force of weather a ship was wind-driven to the haven of Drogheda, and in the same was the Dean of Derry of O'Donnell's country, which not only had impetrated from the Bishop of Rome certain provisions, but also treacherously practised with the King of Scots to have ordinance and aid to O'Donnell, as he himself confessed. Whereupon, being in the Castle of Dublin to be arraigned, my said Lord Deputy put him at large, which Dean, after his coming home to O'Donnell, went eftsoons into Scotland, to procure the Scots of the isles to come to O'Donnell and O'Neill against the said rebellion."

Consequent upon the dissolution of monasteries,

various inquisitions were taken respecting the possessions of such as had any in this town. Those of the immediate religious houses within the walls have been before alluded to, besides which, Furnes, in Lancashire, was also found entitled to sundry houses and lands; Lanthony, in Gloucestershire, to yet more; the Abbey of Beaubec in Normandy, to some; the Prior of St. John the Baptist, of Dublin, was found entitled to certain premises in the town, as were also the Abbot of Mellefont, and the Prior of Kilmainham. The latter is particularly stated as having a portico, with a chamber erected thereon; possibly his residence as a peer of Parliament, during his attendance in the legislative assemblies held here.

In 1543, a report was made relative to the condition of the harbours of Ireland; it of course includes those at this side of the channel, and represents Carrickfergus as a good haven; Strangford a good haven; Dundrum a creek; Carlingford a good haven; Dundalk, a creek; Drogheda a bad haven; Skerries a good road, &c. In the following year O'Neill, after his being created Earl of Tyrone, wrote a letter of remonstrance from Armagh to the king, complaining, amongst other matters, that no house was assigned for his residence near Dublin, Drogheda, or Dundalk, or any of those great towns where Parliaments and Councils are held. In 1545, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord Deputy, after acquainting his royal master, that a fleet of seventy ships or more had appeared off the coast, and taken divers small boats, adds in a postscript,

“ tidings came to us that there is now presently upon the coast of ‘Drougheda’ other sixty sails, which draw after the rest; what their intent is as yet we know not. We be in such readiness as we may be to resist their attempt, if any they make here, God willing, to the uttermost of our power. Those also of Galway have advertised us, that their factors at Andalusia signified unto them as well of the coming about of the French King’s galleys, as that the Bishop of Rome, with certain galleys, and the Genoese, with some great carricks, should aid the French King.” In 1547, “ O’Neill and O’Donnel colourably required a parley with the Lord Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, but on the way, as they rode, they burned the Navan and the town of Ardee; wherefore the Deputy, with the help of the Mayor of Dublin, and the Mayor of Drogheda, with the English Pale, met them, flighted them, slew 400 of their train, and there the Mayor of Dublin, for notable service in that journey, was knighted”(a).

In 1550, an ordinance was promulgated for breaking down the weirs on the Boyne, between Drogheda and Trim, and opening the fishery of the river. In 1552, a contest arose between the Mayors of Dublin and Drogheda, concerning their precedency in marches, when it was adjudged, that he of Dublin should have the foreward going out and the rereward coming home, “ as was accustomed;” and in

(a) Campion.

1556, a commission issued to Thomas Lockwood, Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, to hold an inquiry here as to what lead and crosses, and church ornaments, were yet belonging to any of the churches of this town and its vicinage. The object, however, on this occasion, does not appear to have been spoliatory; for Cox, alluding to a synod that Curwen, Archbishop of Dublin, held in this year, relative to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, states, that soon afterwards the Church goods and ornaments, which had been theretofore taken from the religious houses of Dublin and Drogheda, were restored. In May, 1559, the Lord Deputy was instructed to have an Act passed, prohibiting the discharge of wines, salt, iron, or other merchandize, from any other ports than those of Carrickfergus, Strangford, Carlingford, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Wicklow, Arklow, Wexford, Waterford, Dungarvan, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, Kildengin, Limerick, Galway, and in one certain haven under the Burkes, in Connaught, and another under the O'Donnells. The order states the number of tons of wine that are to be allowed for discharge at each port, and directs that any breach shall be attended with forfeiture of ship and cargo(a).

In 1560, the Lord Lieutenant, holding his court here, despatched very important articles of advice to England, upon the state of this country, through Gilbert Gerald, then Attorney-General. Amongst

(a) Harleian MSS. No. xxxv. p. 119.

many matters touched upon therein, he recommended the displacing of Shane O'Neill, the strengthening of the Earls of Ormond, Thomond, and Clanricard, and their party; the planting of some noblemen and gentlemen of England in Ireland, and the colonization of Leix and Offaley with English. It was also similarly pressed upon the attention of the Crown to prohibit the coming of the Scots into Ireland, to colonize Ulster with English, and especially to occupy the Ban; to divide the whole realm into shires, to take away the Palatinates and Regalities from subjects; to fortify Knockfergus (Carrickfergus), to "crest up" the Baron of Dungannon, &c. About this time Shane (John) O'Neill had, 'as stated in the Annals of the Four Masters, all the province of Ulster under his command, from Drogheda to Lough Earne, "so that he might justly be called a provincial prince, the English alone being at that time against him. In reference to this remarkable individual, Ware relates a trifling incident as occurring in this town, from which very important results ensued. A kinsman of his, named Hugh O'Neill, drinking in company with the collector of the Archbishop of Armagh's revenues at Drogheda, was heard to swear by his soul that his cousin was a patient fool, and so were his ancestors, in taking an Earldom from the Kings of England, when by right themselves were kings. He further added, by way of question to the bishop's servant, "Is it not so?" The man was glad to comply, and say it was so, seeing six of the Irish in the

room with their skenes by them. But as soon as he came to his master, Adam Loftus, he cried out "pardon me, master!" The Archbishop asking him "why, what hast thou done?" he told him the whole story, whereupon he wrote to the Lord Lieutenant of it. From this apparently trifling incident a suspicion was strongly excited against O'Neill, on which the Lord Lieutenant began preparations for an expedition into the North, which he made in April 1563. After some slight successes against the adherents of the Ulster chief, Lord Sussex came upon them, and took three thousand cattle and fifteen hundred horses, with which he marched to Drogheda. O'Neill hereupon felt the necessity of renewing his submission, and in return received favours and professions from the politic Elizabeth, which flattered his vanity and for a time postponed hostilities. In 1566, however, the Lord Deputy Sydney being absent in England, this town was in hazard of being taken by this same O'Neill, but on the urgent request of the Lady Sydney, then residing in Drogheda, Master Sarsfield, Mayor of Dublin, with a chosen and goodly band of his citizens, came to its relief, and baffled the expectations of the enemy. On this occasion George Elcock, Mayor of this town, was accused before Sir William Fitzwilliams of holding a treacherous correspondence with the Irish, and was thereupon committed to the Castle of Dublin. In vindication of English authority, the Deputy, within the same year, accompanied by the Earl of Kildare, set out from

this town on a military excursion through Ulster to Connaught. In this journey he restored O'Donnel to the possession of his country, and particularly to the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal, and received his homage by indenture and oath, reserving two hundred marks *per annum* to the Queen, and a number of men to every general hosting in Ulster. He also received the submissions of several that professed to be weary of O'Neill's domination. In fact he so broke down O'Neill, and particularly by a foray which he led from this town, in the December of the above year, and in which he carried off 2000 cows, and 500 horses, that the Northern chief was, as Cox relates, once designed to come with a halter about his neck, and submit to the Deputy; but a hope of assistance from the Scots diverted him from such humiliation, only to become the victim of professed, but faithless allies, by means of whom, early in the following year, the barbarous, but welcome tribute of his head, was here presented to the Viceroy by Captain William Piers.

In 1569, Robert Burnell, who had represented Drogheda in the first Irish Parliament of Elizabeth's reign, was chosen Mayor of the town; and in the same year, Colonel Gilbert, who had done such great service in Munster, that the Earl of Clancarr was forced to come in to him, and make his submission on his knees, was knighted for his good service here. On Michaelmas day, 1570, the Mayor and Sheriffs took the oaths before Sir Henry Syd-

ney, when he was himself admitted a freeman and alderman of the corporation. It is to this period the following description of Holinshed applies: "Drogheda, accounted the best town in Ireland, and truly not far behind some of their cities; the one moiety is in Meath, the other, planted on the further side of the water, lieth in Ulster. There runneth a blind prophecy on this town, that Ross was, Dublin is, Drogheda shall be, the best of the three." About the same time Sir Henry Sydney wrote of it and others of its vicinity: "The good towns of Carlingford, Dundalk, and Ardee, are extremely impoverished, and only the town of Drogheda in better state, which was more amended and increased in wealth, through the great expenses of the Earl of Essex, who lay and continued there much, and during his abode very bountifully and honourably spent in the same. Howbeit the rest of the country is in great confidence of speedy recovery, for the gentlemen are willing to obey and forward to serve, and the rather for the good inclination I find of my Lord of Louth, who is one both well given and forward, as it seemeth, to execute any thing committed to him."

In 1575, Sir Henry Sydney, having been a second time deputed to the government of Ireland, landed in September at Skerries, whence he proceeded hither, where he took the oaths, and afterwards kept his Court for some time; the plague being then so prevalent in Dublin, that its corporate officers were

sworn out of the town, in the village of Glasmenogue. In the following year, the Earl of Ormond and Osory moved the Crown in reference to his claim of the prisage of wines, alleging that the citizens of Dublin, and the inhabitants of the town of Drogheda, claimed that all merchant strangers, coming with any wines to their ports, had used, time out of mind, to pay no prise wines; and that always they had been discharged of such prise wines; in support of which exemption, it appears, a composition of the time of Edward the First, and sundry Exchequer accounts were relied upon; also records of the twenty-first year of the reign of Richard the Second; others of the first and fifth of Henry the Fourth; and a decree of the Court of Star Chamber in the eighth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth; the Earl, however, relied upon uninterrupted enjoyment, by virtue of royal prerogative. In 1579, the possessions of the Abbot of Mellefont, in this town, were demised to Edward Moore, in reversion, after the expiration of a former lease.

In 1584, the Lord Deputy Perrot having, while sojourning at Limerick, received intimation that Sorleboy was devastating the coast of Ulster, immediately set out from that city, issuing his command that all, who were able to bear arms, from Birr to Boyne, should meet him within twenty-four days at Drogheda, where, accordingly, he was joined by the forces of Leinster and Munster(a). At this time,

(a) Annals of the Four Masters.

those chargeable to the duties of hostings and military service, and the extent of their responsibility, were defined as follows, so far as relates to this vicinity. In the barony of Duleek; Viscount Gormans-
ton to furnish eight archers on horseback; Christopher D'Arcy of Platten, four; James Aylmer of Dullardstown, two; Preston of the Inch, one; Oliver Darcy and William Bath, one; the Recorder of Drogheda, one; Edward Plunkett of Bewly, one; Talbot of Dardistown, three; Caddel of the Naul, two; De la Field of Paynestown, one; Hamlin of Smithstown, two; Bath of Colpe, one; the Portrief of Duleek, one; Sir John Bedlowe of Bedloweston, one, &c. In the barony of Slane; the Lord Baron of Slane, six archers on horseback; John Netterville of Dowth, two; Robert Proudfort of Proudfortstown, one; the Portrief of the town of Slane, two, &c. In the barony of Ferrard; the Lord Primate of Armagh, six archers on horseback; Dowdall of Termonfeckin, three; George Plunkett of Bewly, three; Edward Dowdall of Glaspistol, two; Edward Moore of Mellefont and Edward Brabazon, three; Patrick Verdon of Clonmore, one; John Barnewall of Drogheda or Hunterstown, one; Nicholas Drumgoulle of Walston, one; More of Barmeath, one, &c. In the baronies of Louth and Dundalk Sir John Bedlowe and the Bedlowes, six horsemen and twelve kerns, &c.

Red Hugh O'Donnell, in 1588, when making his escape from the Castle of Dublin, where the Lord

Deputy Perrot had confined him, crossed the county of Meath in this vicinity. His direct way should have been through this town, but, fearing a recognition, he, with a faithful friend, turned from the road towards the banks of the Boyne, as his Irish biographer records, where there was a poor fisherman's hut. "The man was at the moment loading his boat, when the fugitives entreated him to row them across, and promised a recompense, to which proposal he agreed, and received accordingly a liberal reward. The grateful man thereupon re-crossed the river, and brought their horses through the town to where they waited at the landing place"(a). In the same year, the corporation having complained to the Lord Deputy, that Walter Cheevers of Carnaghtown, had not paid the assessment applotted upon his lands of Carnaghtown, Galton, and Ballymakenny, being within the franchises of Drogheda, as and for the soldiers' maintenance and wages at the hosting of that year, but, on the contrary, refused so to do, the Lord Deputy and Council directed the Right Honorable Sir Robert Dillon, Knight, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and William Bathe, secondary Justice of said Court, to inquire into same at Drogheda; when, on inspection of an ancient scale of taxation of the lands within the Liberties, and of an Act of Parliament, whereby the lands in question, which theretofore were in the county Louth, were annexed to the franchises of this town, Cheevers

(a) Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell, MS.

was adjudged liable in their right, and committed to the Marshalsea, till satisfaction should be made by him(*a*).

In 1591, an inquisition (which is preserved in the office of the Chief Remembrancer) was taken, concerning the customs of the harbour of Drogheda. About this time, and previously, William Bathe of Athcarne was seised in tail male of very considerable lots in this town and the liberties, which, upon his death, devolved upon his cousin and heir male, John Bathe of Athcarne, who also died without issue male, but leaving a large family of daughters, whereupon the estates passed to John Bathe of Drumcondra, whose eldest son and heir, James Bathe, afterwards succeeded thereto. An occurrence that happened here in 1597, is represented as strongly illustrating the attachment of fosterage, which, from the days of Cambrensis, has been remarked as so prevalent in Ireland, the twelfth Earl of Kildare having actually died here of a broken heart, in consequence of the fall of two of his foster brethren(*b*), in a conflict with the adherents of

(*a*) Corporation Books.

(*b*) So strong was the predilection of the English for fosterage amongst the Irish, that licenses were frequently taken out, to dispense with the penalties imposed by the Statute of Kilkenny on those forming such connexions. A Patent Roll of 1388 affords a notable instance of this, in the case of the O'Brien family. It states, that the king, "having been credibly informed of the constant good repute which Gerald Fitz Maurice, Earl of Desmond, held and supported, above all others of his part of Ireland, for

Tyrone, near the fort of the Blackwater. The Annals of the Four Masters, however, ascribe that nobleman's death to fever, induced by his own wounds on that occasion. His body was brought to Kildare, and there interred with great solemnity. Soon afterwards, the Lord Deputy and his army passed through Drogheda, on an expedition against the then O'Neill, in allusion to which, Lord Burleigh wrote to his son Sir Robert Cecil: "By the Lord Deputy's letters in Ireland, I see no towardliness of any good end there, but a perpetual charge here to the realm, in levying still new men without any account what is become of the former; and, though it seemeth their decay is grown by death, yet I know not how the captains are excusable for their armours and weapons, which properly do not die of any disease, but ought to remain to the furnishing of the supplies. And I marvel my Lord Deputy requireth so great numbers of men, without shewing how the Queen is discharged of her pay for so many as he desireth to supply, whereof he maketh not mention, neither yet what is become of their armour and weapons." At length, in 1599, the Earl of Essex, having come to Ireland with a force, as the Four

loyalty to the Crown; and on that account, and for the better preservation of peace for the future, being willing to show him favour, did, at his request, grant him license to send his son James to O'Connor O'Brien of Thomond, an Irishman, to be brought up or nurtured, and there to remain as long as he should think fit, any Statute to the contrary notwithstanding."

Masters relate, "such as was not seen in Ireland, since the time when Strongbow and Fitz Stephen landed here in aid of Dermot Mac Murrough," immediately published proclamations of amnesty, pardon, and restitution of property; but, his terms for pacification not having been responded to, he sent forces to Carrickfergus, Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, Wicklow, Naas, &c., while himself led a strong force into the heart of Leinster, where he sustained an unexpected but signal defeat.

Connected with this locality and with the Earl of Essex, occur, in a manuscript "Life of Arthur, afterwards Lord Chichester," some notices of particular interest. That nobleman, in early life, when but "Master Chichester," was made captain of one of the Queen's best ships, under the command of the Lord of Sheffield, at the sea-fight with the Spanish Armada in 1588. He afterwards had the command of another vessel with 500 men, in Sir Francis Drake's last voyage to the West Indies, where that celebrated navigator died; he was a volunteer in the Earl of Essex's voyage to Spain; was Sergeant-Major General of the Queen's army in Picardy, under the command of Sir Thomas Boiskerville, and at the siege of Amiens was shot in the shoulder. For his courage and good service then and in these times, he was knighted by King Henry the Fourth; he afterwards commanded a company of 200 men in the Low Countries, "but Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary to the Queen, being very much his noble friend,

telling her Majesty what pity it was so able a gentleman should bury his time in that country with a single company, she having employment for him in Ireland, where his brother Sir John Chichester had been slain, got leave from the Queen to send for him, he being then garrisoned at Ostend, and to employ him in the service of Ireland with a regiment of 1200 men; with which command he was sent thither, and, according to his commission, landed them with himself at Dublin, whence they were dispatched to garrison at Drogheda. Within a short time, the Earl of Essex arrived at Dublin with the gallantry of England, and, hearing much in praise of Sir Arthur Chichester, and the perfection of his regiment, made a journey to Drogheda purposely, with his gallants, to see him, and Sir Arthur having drawn his regiment up in a most fair field, and exercised them perfectly, in which he was excellent, they being in close order, the Earl, thinking to put a sully on them by breaking through them, charged at them with his gallant cavalry, but the Colonel not being used to receive foyles, had so ordered his pikes, as they forced the Earl to a corry coat, and he, having enough of that smarting sport, retreated, giving the Colonel and his regiment high praise."

In 1600, Lord Mountjoy, having been appointed Deputy of Ireland, sojourned here for some time in the May of that year, waiting with his troops for reinforcements from the garrisons of Kells and Ardee, and laying in supplies of ammunition and provisions,

yson, "were presented on their knees, and in the presence of a great assembly." In a few days afterwards, O'Neill, then created Earl of Tyrone, accompanied the Lord Deputy into Drogheda, and thence on the following day, rode with him to Dublin. In a few years afterwards, however, this nobleman, with the Earl of Tyrconnel, and various chieftains of Ulster, were attainted by Act of Parliament. Amongst those implicated as of his accomplices on that occasion, were, John Bathe of Drogheda, merchant, and Richard Weston of Dundalk, merchant. Con O'Neill, son of the above earl, was taken under the particular care of King James, and royal disbursements appear in the Pell Records(*a*) of that reign, as for the sum of £51, "for so much money expended for the apparel, bedding, and other necessities, provided for the education and bringing up of Con O'Neill;" another sum of £20 5s., for his expenses at Eton College, for one quarter, &c. The confiscations consequent upon the above attainder, in lands alone (exclusive of those rights of advowsons, fisheries, tithes, &c., which the Crown asserted, rather than acquired, as incident thereto), comprised upwards of half a

(*a*) The records, heretofore kept by the Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, are now preserved in the Vice-Treasurer's Office at the Custom-House, so far as they are extant, viz., from the 25th December, 1695, to the 24th June, 1792. This series exhibits the accounts of crown, quit, and compensation rents during the interval. Those of England are far more interesting, affording, as they do, particulars of the disbursements to Ambassadors, Officers of State, Judges, Irish military establishments, pensions, &c.

million of acres of the old Irish measure, in the several counties of Ulster, which, on survey, were disposed of chiefly in the following grants :

To the Londoners and other undertakers	209,800 acres.
The Bishops' mensal lands	3,418 „
The Bishops' Termon and Erenach lands	72,780 „
Trinity College, Dublin	9,600 „
Free Schools	2,700 „
To Incumbents for glebes	18,000 „
To Deans and Prebends	1,473 „
To servitors and natives	116,330 „
Impropriations	21,552 „
The new corporations	8,887 „
Restored to Maguire	5,980 „
Restored to other Irish (ancient proprietors)	1,468 „

In 1609, Sir Adam Loftus passed patent for a house in St. Mary's parish, previously in the tenure of Patrick Barnewall, together with sundry other premises in the counties of Dublin and Westmeath, to hold same for ever, as of the Castle of Dublin, in common socage, to find at his own cost, and maintain upon the premises, two able horsemen of English birth, well armed, for the better defence of the kingdom, and to deliver yearly at Dublin, eight couples of corn, or in lieu thereof eighty pecks of sound corn, viz., five of wheat and bere-malt, and five of oat malt, for every couple of corn, Dublin measure,

appears from the Corporation books, occupied the ground from the north side of William-street to Fair-street, and thence southward towards Laurence-street. This Prelate also furnished the rooms with portraits of his predecessors, which were subsequently removed to the palace of Armagh. John Netterville was, at this period, seised in fee of Bannatty, within the franchises of Drogheda, comprising six messuages and 120 acres, and being so seised, he, together with Nicholas Viscount Netterville, Richard Netterville, son and heir of Christopher Netterville, then late of Blackcastle, Thomas Netterville of said place, and James Netterville of Tobber in the county Wicklow, conveyed same to trustees, one of whom was Laurence Netterville of Dublin. The said John Netterville, on his death, was succeeded herein by Laurence Netterville, his cousin and heir. In 1623, Drogheda was the arena of much theological controversy between the Jesuits and the Franciscans. In the following year Primate Hampton died here a bachelor, at the advanced age of seventy-three, when the celebrated Doctor James Ussher was advanced to the primacy, and he also made Drogheda his principal abode, until the wars of 1641.

At the close of the year 1628, an ordinance against the Roman Catholics, their worship, and their priesthood, was directed to be proclaimed here, in reference to which, the Lord Deputy Falkland, in April, 1629, wrote particularly to the aforesaid Archbishop Ussher.

“ I have received information, both of the unre-

verend manner of publishing the late proclamation at Drogheda, and the ill observance of the same, since it was published. For the first, that it was done in scornful and contemptuous sort, a drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken serjeant of the town, both being made, by too much drink, incapable of that task, and perhaps purposely put to it, made the same seem like a May game; and for the latter, that there is yet very little obedience showed thereto by the friars and priests, only that they have shut up the fore doors of some of their mass houses, but have as ordinary recourse thither by private passages, and do as frequently use their superstitious service there, as if there were no command to the contrary, those mass-houses being continued in their former use, though perhaps a little more privately, without any demolishing of their altars, &c.; I expected to have been informed, as well of the publishing thereof there, as of the effects it had wrought, from no man before your Lordship, both in respect of your profession, and the eminent place you hold in the church, and of your being a privy councillor, who was present and assistant in all the consultations about setting it forth, and privy to the resolutions of the Board thereupon. But since this is come to my hands from another, I do hereby pray and authorize your Lordship, calling to your assistance Mr. Justice Philpot, who is now resident there, to enter into a serious examination of the premises, and to give me a full information of what you

find thereof by the first opportunity. So, desiring to be remembered in your daily prayers, I am your Lordship's very affectionate friend,

“ FALKLAND.

“ *Dublin Castle, April 14, 1629.*”

In 1630, Thomas Earl of Ormond and Ossory, in consideration of £1000, granted the prisage of wines in the harbours of Dublin, Drogheda, Carlingford, Newry, Dundalk, Carrickfergus, Lough-Foyle, and Londonderry, to Edward Gough, to hold for ninety-nine years, at a pepper-corn rent. An account of the customs in 1632, in Irish ports, states, amongst others, Dublin, as £6,136 2s. 6d.; Youghal, £1,904 7s. 3d.; Cork, £1,752 7s. 8d.; Waterford, £1,688 12s. 6d.; Limerick, £1,619 1s. 7d.; Drogheda, £1428 15s. 3d.; Galway, £1,376 17s. 7d.; Kinsale, £982 9s. 9d.; Carrickfergus, £768 9s. 8d., &c.(a). About this time flourished James Miles, a Franciscan friar, and native of this town, a great adept in music, and author of some works, as well on that science, as on religious subjects. He lived some time in the Irish College at Rome, whence he removed to Naples, where he died in 1639.

A census of the gentlemen of the Pale, taken during the early part of the reign of King Charles the First, mentions those of the barony of Ferrard, as Patrick, the son of Christopher Dowdall of Newtown; William, son of Thomas Plunkett of Bewly; Alexander, son of Oliver Lord Louth; James, son

(a) Lansdown MSS. in Brit. Mus.

of Thomas Dowdall of Glaspistol; Patrick Dardis, of Dardisrath; John, son of John St. Laurence of Cruistown; Patrick, son of Christopher Verdon of Clonmore; William Moore of Barnatty; John Barnewall of Callan; James, son of Christopher Plunkett; Christopher, son of Nicholas Dromgoole of Wallers-town; Edward, son of Patrick Plunkett of Castlelunnagh; and Nicholas, son of Robert Taafe of Athclare.

An anonymous traveller, who visited Ireland in 1634, and whose observations remain unprinted, thus speaks of Drogheda: "This town, as it is the largest and best built town I have yet seen in Ireland, so is it most commodiously seated upon a good navigable river called Boyne, whereinto flows the sea in so deep a channel (although it be very narrow), as their ships may come to their doors. This river is built in both sides, and there is on either side a convenient quay and stone wall built all along the river, so as a ship may lie close unto this quay, and may unload upon her. It is like the quay of Newcastle, and those channels I have seen in Holland in their streets. This town is also commodiously situated for fish and fowl. It is governed by a Mayor, Sheriffs, and twenty-four Aldermen; most of these, as also the other inhabitants of the town are popishly affected, insomuch as those that have been chosen Mayors, who for the most part have been recusants, have hired others to discharge that office. One man, it is said, has been hired by deputation to execute

that place thirteen times. The present Mayor, also, is but a deputy, and the reason why they make coy to execute that office is because they will avoid being necessitated to go to church. I observed in this city divers fair, neat, well built houses, and houses and shops well furnished, so as I did conceive this to be a rich town, the inhabitants more civilized and better apparelled. But this is graced with nothing more than my Lord Primate's palace, which is seated near unto the east gate. It is a neat, handsome, and convenient house, built within these twenty years by Primate Hampton. The building is four-square, of wood rough cast, and is not high; a handsome, plain, though long and narrow hall, two dining rooms, one little neat gallery, which leads into the chapel, which also is a pretty little plain and convenient chapel, wherein is a little pair of organs. Whilst Dr. Ussher, the Primate that now is, is here resident, he preacheth constantly every Lord's day in the church. There is a sermon therein in the afternoon, whither not only all his own family resort, but also those of the town that please. In one of the dining rooms is this conceit; the arms of the See and Bishopric, and Bishop Hampton's own arms or coat, enquartered together, and underneath is this inscription, *FAC TU SIMILITER*; here is a pretty neat window in the gallery, and over against it, upon a bank in the garden, these words in fair great letters are written, *OH MAN REMEMBER THE LAST GREAT DAY*. The bank is bare, the proportion of the letters is cut and

framed in grass. In this palace the primate is most resident when he is not in Dublin. In this town are two churches, one placed on the one side of the river, the other on the other, over which is a wooden bridge. In the great church my Lord Primate preacheth every sabbath. In the body of the church over against the pulpit, the communion table is placed lengthwise in the aisle; the body of the church is kept in good repair; only herein is a fair monument for my Lord Moore, his lady, Sir Edward Moore and Sir Thomas Moore, his sons, and their wives and children. Among these is one erected for the Lady Salisbury, now living at Chester. On the side opposite hereunto is Sir Francis Ball's monument, who died when Mayor, he is pictured in his scarlet gown." . . . "From Tredagh" (continues the writer), "we came to Swords; here we lodged at the sign of the boot, a tavern, and were well used, and found far better accommodation in so mean a village than could be expected. The way from Tredagh hither, as dainty fine way as ever I rid, and a most pleasant country, greatest part corn upon the very sea coast, and very good and well reared corn, the barley now (July 9th) beginning to turn, and will be ripe before the rye. Here I saw very fair large English kine; I inquired the price, which is about £2, or £2 10s., or £3, these worth in England double the price. Land here sold for about twenty years' purchase, sets for 5s. or 6s. per acre, some for £1. Some land about Dublin is set for £2, £3,

derate Catholics drew up, and in their council agreed upon a declaration of the objects of their resistance, which purported to bear date on that memorable day, and was in the following words: "Whereas we, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom of Ireland, have been continually loving and faithful subjects to his sacred Majesty, and, notwithstanding the general and heavy oppressions suffered by subordinate governors to the ruin of our lives, honours, and estates, yet having some liberty of religion from his Majesty, out of the affluence of his princely love to us, we, weighing not corporal loss in respect of the great immunity of the soul, are inviolably resolved to infix ourselves in an immutable and pure allegiance for ever to his royal Majesty and his successors. Now it is that the Parliament of England, maligning and envying any graces received from his Majesty by our nation, and knowing none so desired of us as that of religion, and likewise perceiving his Majesty to be inclined to give us the liberty of the same, drew his Majesty's prerogative out of his hands, thereby largely pretending the general good of his Majesty's kingdoms. But we the said Catholics and loyal subjects to his Majesty do probably find, as well by some Acts passed by them the said Parliament, touching our religion, in which the Catholics of England and Scotland did suffer, as also by threats to send over the Scottish army with the sword and Bible against us, that their whole and studied plot was, and is, not only to extinguish religion (by which

only we live happily), but also likewise to supplant us, and rase the name of Catholics and Irish out of the whole kingdom; and seeing this surprise so dangerous, tending absolutely to the overthrow of the liberty of our consciences and country, and also our gracious king's power forced from him, in which and in whose prudent care of us our sole quiet and comfort consisted, and without which the fear of our present ruin did prescribe opinion and premonish us to save ourselves. We, therefore, as well to regain his Majesty's said prerogative, being only due to him and his successors, and being the essence and life of monarchy, hoping thereby to continue a strong and invincible unity between his royal and ever happy love to us, and our faithful duty and loyalty to his incomparable Majesty, have taken arms and possessed ourselves of the best and strongest forts of the kingdom, to enable us to serve his Majesty, and preserve us from the tyrannous resolution of our enemies. This in our consciences, as we wish the peace of the same to ourselves and our posterity, is the pretence and true cause of our present rising in arms, by which we are resolved to perfect the advancement of truth and safety of our king and country. Thus much we thought fit in general to publish to the world, to set forth our innocent and just cause, the particulars whereof shall be speedily declared. God save the king."

Drogheda was then justly considered an object, the possession of which was of the greatest impor-

at the feast of the Purification, and to be allowed £8 for the same, viz., two shillings for every peck, out of the rent every Easter. The value of Irish money, it may be noticed, at this time, exceeded that of English by one-fourth, as appears amongst other evidences, by an interesting pell roll in the English Exchequer, whereby King James directed a payment to the Countess of Desmond and her three daughters, "as of his Majesty's free gift, without account, imprest, or other charge." The sum for the Countess being described as £75, "being so much as £100 of his Highness' monies of Ireland do amount unto," and that for the daughters as £56 5s., "being so much as £75 of like Irish money doth amount unto." A calculation having been made in this year of the customs of the several ports of Ireland, giving the total of each respectively for the seven preceding years; those of Dublin were stated as £1890; Carrickfergus, £399; Drogheda, £215; Dundalk, £65, &c. In this latter year (1611), Sir Nicholas St. Laurence, the twenty-first Baron of Howth, suffered recoveries of thirty messuages, one mill, twenty orchards, and sixty acres of arable and pasture land, within the town and liberties; and in the following, Sir Gerald Moore, afterwards created Viscount Moore of Drogheda, passed patent for certain chief rents, quit rents, houses, and plots of ground, within this town.

In the Parliament of 1613, the first regularly constituted in Ireland, this borough was represented

by Alderman John Blakeney and Roger Beeling, gentleman; King James, upon this occasion, directing Lord Hay, the Master of his Majesty's Wardrobe, to disburse a sum of £700, by way of imprest "towards the provision of one new cloth of estate, and other ornaments of honour," for this assembly; his Majesty having previously given, "for the garniture of a sword of state, silver gilt, curiously wrought, £45 15s. and for enamelling two escutcheons with the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, £2 6s. 8d." In 1615, Thomas Earl of Ormond and Ossory was found seised in tail male of the prisage of wines within this harbour (of which he levied a fine in 1633), and Christopher, Archbishop of Armagh, in the same year, passed patent for the mansion house which he occupied in the town, with a garden and two tenements adjoining, on the west side thereof; an orchard on the north side of St. Peter's church; and various other possessions unnecessary here to detail. In 1616, John Challoner, not having returned his book of the customs of the port, which he held by virtue of his office, and having pawned the official seal to one of the tide-waiters, besides being found insufficient in the knowledge of tonnage and prisage, was removed from his situation. In the same year, an ecclesiastical taxation having taken place, the Primate (Doctor Hampton) was rated to the first fruits for his palace and garden here, two pounds sterling. This palace had been then recently erected by himself, at an expense exceeding £2000, and, as

day. It was then found that the insurgents had already taken Dundalk and Dromiskin, and actually extended their foray to within five miles of this town; whereupon, Sir Faithful Fortescue posted to the city, but, finding all efforts to obtain further assistance ineffective, he resigned his commission, whereon Lord Moore, in this emergency, assumed the direction of affairs. The horse at night partly traversed the town, while some scoured the immediate vicinity of the walls, and rescued the cattle which the enemy had captured. "At this time," says Dean Bernard, "one of the chief cares that lay upon me even more than my life, was that great treasure of my Lord Primate's (Ussher's) library, which I had the happiness to be trusted with in his absence. We heard of the daily rudeness of the vulgar in burning and cutting in pieces the papers and books of such of the clergy already made a prey of (especially the Bishop of Meath's and the Lord Conway's library); the manuscripts, howsoever invaluable, yet by their mean clothing likely to be least respected by such illiterate hands. No barks being left in the harbour to remove them, the best course, which the misery and necessity of that time would afford, was not neglected, but none could promise safety."

At length a force of a thousand foot and a hundred horse arrived under the command of Sir Henry Tichburne, who was also made Governor of the town. This gallant officer had been residing at Dunshaughly, near Finglas, on the night when the

disturbances commenced, and on the following he fled with his wife and family to Dublin, where the Lords Justices and Council engaged his services for the protection of Drogheda ; to which, after some days occupied in raising men, he repaired, accompanied by the following able companions, some of whom had before been officers of the field, but from zeal for their present service now attended as captains under his command: Sir John Borlace, — Byron, — Wenmond, Jacob Lovel, Chichester Fortescue, William Willoughby, Edward Billingsley, Lewis Owens, John Morris, John Sloughter, and Thomas Greymes. The state was further induced immediately afterwards to add three other companies under the command of Captains Richard Burrowes, Edward Trevor, and William Hamilton respectively, whereby the total force, independent of the town supplies, was 1500 foot and 160 horse, with a very considerable stand of arms. Having duly attended to the quarters of his soldiers, Sir Henry diligently inspected the fortifications of the town, and directed measures for yet further strengthening the place, and in particular the mill-mount as the stronghold on the Meath side; but all these preparations were still thought so inadequate for the defence, that Lord Moore in his place in Parliament, hoping to inspire the government, extended his former proposal, and volunteered to raise 600 men at his own charge, until money in aid could be received from England, provided they should be incorporated into a regiment

under his command; the proposal was not, however, accepted by the government, while it so far provoked the insurgents, that they descended in considerable numbers from the hill of Tullyesker, and utterly spoiled and pillaged his house of Mellefont.

At length, on the 22nd of November, 600 foot and 50 horse were despatched from Dublin, but at so late an hour that they only reached Swords that night. On the following day Sir Henry Tichburne, having been advised of their march, sent a competent force of horse and foot to meet and join them, but the Dublin soldiery, having mutinied against their commander, would not march further than Balruddery, though offered double pay as an inducement to proceed. At length, however, their obstinacy was overcome, and they again advanced as far as the Bridge of Julianstown, where, under cover of a fog, a detachment of the Irish army approached unperceived, until they were within musket shot, and then so vigorously charged them that the majority were slain. Fifty horse of the Earl of Ormond's troop, headed by Sir Patrick Wemyss, and some survivors of the companies of captains Christopher Roper, William Cadogan, and Charles Sownsley alone escaped to their destination, and were placed under the command of Lord Moore. A letter of the 30th November, from the Earl of Ormond to the King, is preserved in Carte, in which, alluding to the incidents of this paragraph, the Earl writes: "The rebels are great numbers, for the most part very meanly armed with such

weapons, as would rather show them to be a tumultuary rabble than any thing like an army, yet such is our want of men, arms, and money, that, though we look with grief upon what the English suffer by robbing of them in a most barbarous manner, yet are we no ways able to help them, but are forced to apply ourselves to save for your Majesty your principal city in the kingdom, and another called Drogheda, some twenty miles hence, where our greatest strength now lies, which is faced with four or five thousand rebels, and by them daily threatened with an assault; but the town is well furnished with all necessaries to repel them, and those commanded by a very gallant gentleman, Sir Henry Tichburne, that I am confident will give a very good account of the town, or lay his bones in it. Upon Saturday last we sent hither to his succour 600 foot and 50 horse, who, as we understand, late last night were encountered by 1500 of the enemy. The foot were, for the most part, of those English that were pillaged by them, and had, I doubt, with their goods lost their courage, for, we understand by two of them that escaped hither, they betook themselves to their heels upon sight of the enemy, not shooting one shot, or striking one stroke. I believe few of the men are lost, but I doubt most of the arms."

The town was by this time, as suggested in Lord Ormond's letter, invested on every side, as well by sea as by land, and all ways of intercourse with Dublin completely cut off, sentinels being set so thickly

around, that no one could pass unnoticed and unsearched, although divers stratagems are recorded to have been tried for the conveyance of letters of advice, some sowed up in the collars of doublets, the soles of boots, or even in bandages or sear-cloths laid on feigned bruises or sores. Nor was the vigilance and activity of the beleaguers unparalleled by the besieged; breast-works were made before every gate, platforms erected where the walls were defective, some for the sentinels, others for field-pieces; abundance of "morning stars," described as terrible weapons of war, were set upon the ramparts, and "a world of crescents" gave light in a dark night about the town; an iron chain was thrown across the river; and the inhabitants of the suburbs were likewise commanded to bring in their corn and hay, but this precaution was adopted too late, and the besiegers succeeded in seizing or burning the greater portion of the grain and provender in haggard. O'Neill had established his head quarters at Bewly, and his detachments also occupied the Castle of Rathmullen, and the villages of Bettystown, Mornington, Oldbridge, Tullyallen, and Ballymakenny.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered that, even at so early a period of the siege as the 3rd of December, the privations of the garrison demanded a sally; when 350 foot, and two troops of horse, having issued from St. Laurence's gate, to escort some cars that were directed to bring in corn from the adjacent townland of Greenhills, encountered the enemy on

the shore of the river, and defeated them with the loss of two hundred of their force; "this good success," remarks Dean Bernard, "so mightily flushed our soldiers, that there was nothing but longing for the second part to the same tune."

The Irish army, it must be observed, had commenced their enterprize in a season of peculiar severity, neither their skill nor their provisions were sufficient for the regular conduct of a siege; they wanted artillery, ammunition, and all the necessary instruments of war; they had no tents to cover their men from the inclemency of winter, they were incompetent to besiege the town in form; they made no lines of circumvallation, erected no batteries, carried on no mines, ran no trenches, nor made any approaches, as then usual, in the art of war, and were consequently compelled, instead of making an encampment, to billet themselves in the neighbouring villages, scarce any of which were less distant than a mile from the town. They lay, however, near enough to embrace every opportunity of surprising the place, which their correspondence within, or any accident might afford, and the army, which amounted, it is said, to 18,000 men, was sufficient to block up all the avenues of the town; the garrison was consequently so ill supplied with fuel, food, and clothing, to qualify them for the hardships of their own duties, that the governor was more apprehensive of famine within, than of any force that could attack him from without. That attack was, at length, for

the first time attempted on the night of the 20th of December, St. Thomas's eve, when the first grand effort was made to take the town by surprize. About midnight the Irish gave the general assault, but were repulsed with great loss. "We gave them," says Sir Henry Tichburne in his letter on the siege, "such entertainment as belonged to unwelcome guests." The hottest scene of engagement on this night was about St. John's gate, being the worst fortified. Discouraged by the result from further operations of that nature, the besiegers determined to maintain their blockade alone, with the confident hope of reducing the town by famine. They were well acquainted that it laboured under a great scarcity of provisions for the men, and of hay and oats for the horses, and that the garrison suffered so much from their wants, that great numbers of the soldiers, both English and Irish, leaped over the walls and made their escape from the town, not from any treacherous motives, but to avoid the hardships they were enduring within, where "hard duty and salt herings" brought on diseases that unfitted them for service. Even the officers of the garrison, seeing no effort made for their relief, thought themselves neglected by the State, and complained earnestly to the Earl of Ormond of the little regard shown either to their own preservation, or to the safety of so important a place, thus now reduced to the utmost extremity.

About the close of December, the Boyne was so

uncommonly frozen, that it could scarcely be broken with mallets; and, as horses and men could pass safely over, the circumstance was taken instant advantage of by the insurgents below the bridge, for such transmission of their forces as they deemed advisable. On the first of January, however, early in the morning, Sir Henry Tichburne sent out a party, "which killed some of the rebels, burned their quarters, and retreated with the loss of but one man;" and on the 7th, another sally was made from the town, which is thus described by Dean Bernard. "At break of day, about 300 foot, and four score horse, were pleased to take the air out at St. John's port [in the direction of Ramullen], killed a hundred, forced a hundred more to the river (amongst whom was found, cast up by the water side, one Art Roe Mac Mahon, a great commander with them), took fifty, arms, cows, and other booty, to the value of £100, burnt their lodgings, and, after a pursuit of a mile or two by the horse, retreated, which they did very slowly, of purpose to have invited another body of them not far off, to a present revenge of their fellows, but they had seen enough of their blood for one morning. Some made an overture, but as our men faced about, they turned their backs, when a drake of ours overreached to the dropping of some of them. In this skirmish, howsoever, they wanted not showers of shot from the other side of the river also." Nevertheless, victuals became more scarce within the town each succeeding day, and, while the

better classes were limited to one meal per day, the diet of the common soldiers was merely herrings and water, without bread. A strict investigation was instituted through the town, and what food was found was carried into a store-house, for equal distribution. Corn, hitherto in stacks, was thrashed out immediately, "but by reason of the want of mills, most of which were without the town, little corn could be ground but by querns, too slow a provision for so many thousands of soldiers and inhabitants."

On the 11th of January, a pinnace, a frigate, a gabbard, with two shallops, and another vessel laden with biscuit, powder, and ammunition, left Dublin for the relief of the town. In the progress of this little fleet from Dublin, the pinnace put in at Skerries, and destroyed a considerable quantity of corn there stored for the besiegers, carrying the remainder on board their own vessels. The entrance of the harbour of Drogheda was then very narrow, and at its mouth was a bar of sand, unpassable at low water, while, to close up the navigation completely, O'Neill's forces sunk a bark in the channel, but a strong west wind had a short time previously carried her out to sea; the besiegers had also stationed two vessels on each side, and fixed an iron chain with a cable between them across the channel, but the pinnace and shallops that brought the supplies, overcame all these obstacles, passed the bar even at the low ebb tide, and, skimming over the chain, ar-

rived safely at the quay. The joy and triumph, which the garrison felt and indulged in too freely on this occasion, nearly brought upon them that destruction from which they thus fancied themselves released. The vigilant governor had caused all the watches to be twice or thrice rounded on that night, (12th January), but his own usual nightly inspection having been postponed, in the necessity of sending several despatches to Dublin, the treachery of some of the inhabitants discovered what they considered a favourable moment for admitting a party of the enemy, through the old blind door of an orchard, between St. James's gate and the water. About 500 men were thus introduced, and had they either cut down the guard at the next gate, and opened it to their companions without, or made their advance up the mill-mount, where were four or five pieces of artillery on that commanding situation, or but marched to the bridge, and with the two drakes there planted entered into the heart of the town, and fallen upon the mainguard, Drogheda had been irrecoverably lost, and the garrison utterly destroyed. They continued, however, ineffective, but undiscovered, until, having marched as far as the quay, they, either with a view to give notice to their friends in the town, or in rash confidence of victory, set up a shout, which gave the first alarm, and was the means of preserving the place. Sir Henry Tichburne hearing it, ran down immediately with only his pistols in his hand, and was the first to cause the drum to beat.

He found the watches so thin, that he was forced to bring out the mainguard (which chanced to be his own company), and caused his ensign to draw them down to the bridge, whilst he could get a body together to support them. The advantage of good arms was evinced at this juncture; the pikes of the assailants, hastily formed of such poles as could be had in the woods, were short of those of the garrison, by which advantage the latter were enabled to stop their progress, and compel their retreat, while the governor, with a party of musketeers, poured such a volley of shot upon them, as dispersed them in every direction. About 200 fell back upon the door through which they had come in, a few more were received in concealment by some friendly townsmen, and the rest were killed or taken prisoners. "God's workings," writes Sir Henry Tichburne, "are wonderful, and oftentimes, especially in matters of war, produce great effects out of small and contemptible means. This night, my man following of me hastily with my horse out of my lodging, the horse being unruly at the best, suddenly broke loose, and made such a noise in running and galloping madly upon the stones in the dark streets, it put the rebels to a stand, believing we were better prepared to welcome them than in truth we were, and thereby afforded us something the more leisure to entertain them, as by God's blessing we did."

Yet was not the supply of provisions, thus obtained, at all proportioned to the necessities of the

garrison. The biscuit and meal were exhausted in a fortnight, and famine and sickness resumed their destructive visitation, while, to prevent any other aid, Sir Phelim O'Neill caused a second ship to be sunken more effectively in the channel, and strengthened the boom across it. Frequent sallies procured corn and provender for the horses, but horse-flesh, dogs, and cats, were the best food attainable for the men. At this crisis, Sir Phelim O'Neill, fancying the time was approaching when he would be able more successfully to assault the town, hurried to the North to procure an additional levy of men, and a supply of arms and ordnance, while Sir Henry Tichburne availed himself of the same interval, to despatch Captain Cadogan to Dublin, there to represent the necessities of the besieged, and to solicit a further supply of provisions and men. Scarcely a day afterwards elapsed without some sally, at first to such places as lay nearest to the town, but afterwards, emboldened by success, the governor sent Captain Trevor four miles off, where he captured a prey of eighty cows, and two hundred and sixty sheep. On the 11th of February, Sir Henry led another sally in the direction of Bewly, when seventy-three of the enemy were slain with Captain Owen (a follower of the Earl of Tyrone in Queen Elizabeth's time), a lieutenant, and an ensign, and there were taken two colours, one ensign, three serjeants, and nine privates. In two days afterwards, the same commander directed a foray, when he captured eighty cows, and about two hundred sheep.

In a letter of the 14th of February, from Sir Adam Loftus to Sir Robert King (the lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Kingston and of Viscount Lorton), then resident at Cecil or Wimbleton House on the Strand, Sir Adam, amongst many advices and statements relative to Ireland, thus alludes to this town : " That which now most afflicts us, is that extreme want in Drogheda, now reduced to so short a period of time, that, if God afford us not fair weather and wind to relieve it by sea, we must of necessity march to the relief of it by land, and so put the whole kingdom to hazard, but God I hope, who hath hitherto been miraculously with us, will not now fail us in this great exigence." By the seasonable relief, however, obtained from the above sallies, the garrison was enabled to hold out until the 20th of February, when a fresh supply of bread for seven weeks, and four companies of foot arrived for their aid. Providentially for the safety of the town, the boom, which the besiegers had constructed of a great many ship masts and other timber bound together with a very strong massy chain, and supported by seven or eight great boats, was on the day before carried away by a violent storm, which broke the chain and scattered the boats, so that the service of an engine, which had been prepared to cut the chain, was rendered unnecessary, while the last ship, that had been sunk in the channel, was also carried out into the sea. The wind too, that for a long time previously had been tempestuous and adverse, turned on a sud-

den, so as to co-operate with the spring tide, and blew a fair gale at south-east; thus every thing conspired to afford an easy passage to the ships, all of which were brought up at one tide to the quay, without injury or loss of hands, although the besiegers had on this occasion erected a kind of block house at the entrance to the river, whereon they had planted two pieces of ordnance, while they had musketeers set in trenches on both sides of the river.

A proclamation of the State, dated 8th of February, which had been sent in the ships that brought the supply, was immediately afterwards fixed up in the market place. It offered sums of money for the respective heads of particular individuals therein named, "wherein," adds Bernard, "the prices, set upon each of their heads, were far beyond their worth; Sir Phelim O'Neill's was valued at £1000, Reilly and others at £800, and the rest of them at £400." The Reilly here alluded to had been high sheriff of the county Cavan, "formerly writing himself Miles Reilly, but having, with the shaking off of his obedience to the English government, cast off what might in his name sound English, he was then known by the name of Mulmore Mac Edmund O'Reilly." Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O'Reilly was, however, at this time, the head of the sept of the O'Reillys, and in Parliament represented that county, which was the ancient inheritance of his family. On the morning, that succeeded the arrival of the aforesaid supplies, Sir Phelim O'Neill, having returned with forty horse,

and about 600 foot, from the North to his headquarters at Bewly, advanced silently to the town, and made an attempt to take it by scalade, but he was again repulsed, and with such increased loss, that he never afterwards hazarded an assault.

By a public protestation, promulgated about this time, the confederate Catholics of the Pale solemnly declared, that their only aim in taking arms, was for the necessary defence and preservation, as well of his Majesty's crown, prerogative, and just rights, invaded upon by the Puritan faction of England, as likewise of their own religion, lives, liberties, and estates; and, in particular allusion to the proceedings of O'Neill about this town, they declared, "when of late, in the beginning of these troubles, we made earnest suit to the Lords Justices and State, to afford us, of the English Pale, arms for our defences against the forces of Ulster, the same was denied us, save only some few arms, not sufficient in any way to withstand the power of Ulster; and for that reason divers of the counties within the Pale restored again to the State the arms delivered to them, to prevent their surprisal; and the army of Ulster forced by strong hand us, the inhabitants of the next adjoining counties to Drogheda (which they besieged), to give them provision for their army, and join with them in arms." They further "declared unto the world, that they had hoped to obtain redress, from Parliament, of their intolerable sufferings and just grievances, but that same was prorogued of purpose,

as well to deprive them of relief, and of the several graces his Majesty had directed to be conferred upon them, as also to prevent the appeasing of the commotions and troubles then in Ulster, the composing whereof the forces in that province then in arms wholly submitted to that High Court, all which hopes were disappointed by the said prorogation." They even more emphatically laboured to clear themselves from participation in O'Neill's insurrection, which in truth was but the result of King James's confiscations, and the plantations that dispossessed the Irishry throughout that fine province. They distinctly stated in their memorial to the king, that they had made suit to the Lords Justices to have some towns of the Pale regularly garrisoned, and offered to cooperate zealously with such garrisons; but that their request was "utterly denied, by means whereof the said Pale was overrun and pillaged by the army of Ulster, which at that time invaded those quarters against the wills of the inhabitants of the said Pale; and the forces then of Ulster, being many thousands of armed men, did by strong hand pass through the counties of the Pale, to the town of Drogheda, and laid siege to it, and did compel by their army the next adjoining counties to supply them with victuals and other provisions, and also to join with them," which mischief (they expressly charged), was permitted by the Lords Justices for their destruction, they hoping thereby that the memorialists might incur the forfeiture of their estates

by uniting with the northern forces, or the loss of their lives and present livelihood, if they opposed them, in their utter destitution of the means of resistance. "Yet," add the confederates, "neither sinister practices, nor the army of Ulster, though far beyond us in arms and strength, could force us from manifesting our duty, allegiance, and affection to your Majesty, choosing rather to sacrifice all our fortunes, estates, and lives, in the defence of your crown and kingdom, than join with them in drawing our swords, contrary to our allegiance and duty, against your sacred Majesty, our dread and only Sovereign; but these forces, here now in the field, have given us full assurance of the justness of their cause, by their late general remonstrance, which they, jointly with the rest of your subjects, the Catholics of this your realm, have prepared to be presented to your Highness." "These," they conclude, "may it please your most princely Majesty, were the chief grounds and principal motives of our rising in arms, and we do most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty not to take offence thereat, but to vouchsafe us not only your most gracious favour and protection from the cruel and lawless designs of your Justices and State here against us, but likewise to afford us just cause of laying down our arms, by applying present and effectual remedies to our just grievances."

On the 23rd of February the Lords Fingal, Gormanston, Netterville, and Trimleston, addressed a letter to the Marquess of Clanricarde, wherein they

again sought to vindicate "the scope and purpose of their taking up of arms;" and, while the letter is dated "from the Catholic camp near Drogheda," it contains an explicit avowal that they had then made common cause with O'Neill. "And we now give your lordship to understand that by God's assistance the work is, by the help of our neighbours of Ulster, and by our own endeavours, in a fair way, we having already in the field about Dublin and Drogheda, about 12,000 able men, and more expected daily, for the most part well armed; and besides we can assure ourselves of the good will and endeavours of the rest of our Catholic countrymen throughout the kingdom."

On the 26th of February, the governor of this town, having made a sally to Beabeg, had a smart engagement with the enemy, several of whom were slain; two colours were taken by Major Fortescue and Captain Bryan, and a store of cattle was also captured. "So many," adds Bernard, "were shot upon this occasion in the river of Julianstown, that the water was all red with their blood. Another sally to the castle of Stameen was attended with similar results, and a large acquisition of corn from the village of Colpe; the remains of human bodies mixed with fragments of armour, buckles, &c., which were of late thrown up in the townland of Bettystown, in digging for building sand, have been, and probably correctly, attributed to this day's visitation. Of the latter excursion, Sir Henry Tichburne

writes as follows: " On the 1st of March, I sent forth Sir John Borlase, with four companies of foot and one troop of horse, to forage the south side of the river, towards Colpe, whence a good quantity of corn was brought into the garrison, and in the afternoon I took two other companies of foot and a troop of horse, accompanied with the Lord Moore, and, as we were advancing something further towards the Inch, there came a messenger hastily unto me, and told me that Sir John Borlase met with some resistance at Colpe, at an old tower which he attempted to take, and that many of the rebels were come from the north side of the river in a ferry boat, and entered into Stameen, whereby it was supposed they would attempt something against those that were before Colpe. On this advertisement my Lord Moore and myself returned, and finding no appearance of the rebels' intention to do anything, the evening being come on, I prepared to march home, and, leaving the Lord Moore, I went towards Sir John Borlase, before Colpe, where by the way I was advertised that the rebels were sallied out of Stameen with two hundred foot, to surprise those before Colpe. I instantly directed Captain Billingsley to take eighty musketeers, and fall up to the side of the way where there was the advantage of a ditch, and with such horse as were with me I made directly to an opener place, though somewhat about, and by that time I came in sight of the rebels. Captain Billingsley and they were exchanging some shot, but

upon the approach of the horse coming on with a round charge, the rebels fled again into Stameen, and by the way, there was slain of them a lieutenant, thirteen soldiers, and a captain of the O'Neill's wounded and taken prisoner; and, if my horse had not been bogged with some others, being ignorant of the ways, I believe many more had been slain, and the place taken the same night, with many of their commanders in it, who stole away before the next morning to the other side of the river, with Sir Phe-lim O'Neill, who, during the conflict was fled, crept and hid in a furze bush, as I was afterwards informed, and thus the south side of the river was wholly cleared of the rebels, and plenty of corn and food began to be amongst us."

Mornington was the scene of action on the 3rd of March. "Early on that morning," relates Dean Bernard, "the forces under Colonel Wainman advanced hither, where they found the town abandoned, so that their whole work that day was to reap what was left, for which all sorts were permitted to go forth for pillage; the lanes were so thickened with all sorts of grain, that the spring seemed to be harvest, and the vernal equinoctial to be mistaken for the autumnal, such loads of corn were mounted upon horses, that upon the hills they looked like moving haggards, by which our great extremity was turned presently into plenty; and, whereas our chiefest want was malt, the whole town (having drunk nothing but water for a week), were now set a brew-

ing, and for expression of joy there wanted no bon-fires of three or four towns together, whereby a clear day grew dusky by the smoke. A fair house of one Draycot (who by the rebels was newly created Viscount Mornington, for his merit in the cause), made the clearest light, which was done the rather in a just revenge of his fraudulent disarming many of our soldiers as they were making hither from the bridge of Julianstown. His library, with what could be preserved from the fire, was brought in hither and sold us at very easy rates; a very large parchment manuscript of an old missal, consecrated to that church of Mornington, came to my hands, the loss of which I presume they have valued more than their houses." On the 5th of March Lord Moore led out 400 foot, and 80 horse, over his own estates of Tullyallen, and also defeated the forces of the besiegers in that quarter, taking prisoner Art Mac Mahon, who had been stiled amongst the Irish, Lord Baron of Monaghan, and whose head was of those especially valued in the before-mentioned proclamation. And in the mean time, Sir Henry Tichburne was equally successful in a sally towards Bewly, in which he burned the village of Newtown.

The results of these harassing sallies were immediately apparent; the castles of Bewly and Stameen, at their respective sides of the river, were deserted on that very evening; and Sir Phelim O'Neill himself, hearing of the approach of the Earl of Ormond, fled with some field pieces in the direction of Dun-

dalk. "By this," says Bernard, "our town was filled with provision, ports began to open, our neighbours making suit to be admitted to our market, castles near hand voluntarily surrendered, the owners submitting, and all good men's hearts rejoicing by this sudden change. . . . Indeed to relate what a change was presently in this town, from the extremity of scarceness and dearness, would be incredible; eggs, which during the siege one was a rich present, worthy of thanks from the chiefest, were now fifteen a penny; hens at two pence; milch cows at five shillings; horses, which before the siege were rated at three and four pounds, sold for twelve pence, nay, commonly passed among friends for a quart of beer; the finest wheat in the market for eight shillings per barrel; and fish (to which we had been altogether strangers) multiplied abundantly." "And so," adds "A Certain Relation," published at the time, "the Lords and other rebels of the Pale, thus abandoned by the Northern rebels, are forced to forsake their own habitations, and go along with the Northern rebels, or hide their heads somewhere else from their own houses, which they have mournfully taken their last leave of, as many think of, for ever seeing them or their own again." Sir Henry Tichburne, immediately on the departure of Sir Phelim O'Neill, took possession of Bewly house, and, in a few days, after summoned Platten, which ultimately surrendered on terms, that the garrison might depart unarmed, and carry away some few goods and provisions with them.

A short time previous to the occurrences last detailed, the Earl of Ormond had been commissioned by the Lords Justices to march against the confederates, with positive directions to burn and destroy their haunts, and to put to the sword all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, an authority which he has been reproached for not exercising with all its severity. The relief of Drogheda, however, appearing of paramount importance, he was directed to lead 3000 foot and 500 horse thither, and to prosecute the besiegers with fire and sword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition, and the Earl was strictly enjoined not to pass the Boyne. "Whatever were the professions of the Chief Governors," remarks Leland, "the only danger they really apprehended was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebels," extensive forfeitures being their selfish and favourite object. When, however, Sir Phelim's flight was made known to Ormond, he instantly communicated the event to the Lords Justices, and represented the necessity of pursuing the fugitives in their consternation, desiring that his commission might be enlarged, and he be permitted to continue his march to Newry; but the Justices received the intelligence with vexation, repelled the overture, and repeated the injunction that he should not pass the Boyne. Several noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale besought him, on his march to this town, to receive their submissions, but he was designedly crippled by his commission. In the mean time Sir Henry

Tichburne marched forth accompanied with the Lord Moore, and a competent force, to Mr. Barnewall's, of Rathesker House, where they found that gentleman "not drest, misdoubting no visitation of that kind;" after a little resistance he surrendered, "on promise that he might be left unto the law, and not presently put to death; for this Barnewall had served beyond seas, was a colonel among the rebels, and on his head was set £400, as a recompense for any that brought him in dead or alive."

On the 11th of March, the Earl of Ormond, attended by several colonels and captains, entered Drogheda, and dined with Lord Moore. Another council was then held with the officers of the garrison, when it was agreed, that efforts should be renewed to obtain an extension of the Earl's commission, so as to enable him to march further northward than the Boyne, but the chief governors were inexorable, and the army of Ulster, emboldened thereby, and having recovered from their consternation, regained many of the places they had before abandoned, and even threatened again to invest Drogheda, so that Sir Henry Tichburne was obliged, on the departure of Ormond, to exert his utmost vigour to avert the calamity of a second siege of this town. In the promotion of this object, he burned Slane, defeated a considerable party of the enemy at Ardee, and afterwards, as no restriction had been laid upon his conduct, he marched to Dundalk, and drove the enemy, with great slaughter, from that town also.

On the following day, the Earl of Ormond wrote to the Justices from Garristown, about midway between Dublin and Drogheda: "I am now applying myself to perform your last commands, to which end I have this morning sent forth horse, with order to destroy all such traitors and their dwellings as they can light on, for six miles about this place, which we have so done. I intend to march to Balruddery, there to quarter to-morrow night, and thence to Dublin, want of bread causing us not to make use of the enlargement of time granted by your Lordships' letters of the 9th, which we could have been furnished with from Drogheda, if we had pursued our design towards the Newry. The question I was bold to make, touching the burning of the houses belonging to the lords of the Pale, was, not that I doubted, whether there should be any difference made between a rebel lord and a rebel commoner, being well satisfied in the negative, but as I remember it, what the State desired direction in out of England, was, whether these lords should be proclaimed rebels or no, to which, there having come no answer, I humbly conceive what I desired was not altogether impertinent, but having now received your direction in it, I shall trouble your Lordships with no more questions touching that particular. For those that come in, I hold it the course with them, is to put them in safe keeping, either to send them afore me to Dublin, or to bring them along with me, without any manner of promise or condi-

tion, but that they submit to his Majesty's justice; nor do I dispute by what power they come in, leaving that to your Lordships to judge, when they are in your hands, and when I have told you the manner, which I shall do very truly. With this bearer I send Sir John Netterville, eldest son to the Lord Netterville. Having received from your Lordship (my Lord Parsons), a note, intimating a safeguard to Mr. Barnewall of Kilbrue, at his earnest suit, I suffered him to come along with me. He is now gone to his house, but will doubtless go along with me to Dublin. This I wished the corporal to tell your Lordships. With the unanimous advice of all the officers, I have given orders to spare the wine, which will certainly be brought both to Dublin and Drogheda, and will be of great use for such troops as shall be sent northward," &c. The above Mr. Barnewall of Kilbrue, is the person whom Dr. Curry, in his "Historical Review," mentions as subsequently the victim of the violated safeguard so promised to him.

On the 13th of March, the Lords Justices wrote to Ormond again, prohibiting his passing the Boyne with his Majesty's forces, but allowed him "to march in such places, between the Boyne and the sea, as he should think fit," and stated, amongst other reasons for such their order, that they were not then able to send sufficient store of provisions to Drogheda, "nor shoes and stockings, as your Lordship writes." "And, therefore (they add) we pray your Lordship,

that after you have made all the destruction you can upon the rebels and their adherents, and abettors, in the counties of Meath and Dublin, and the places, towns, and houses, where the rebels, their adherents, and abettors, are, or have been relieved, &c.; and, upon consideration had of Sir Henry Tichburne's letters to your Lordship, of the 12th of this month, we held it fit hereby to pray your Lordship, that in case you can conveniently spare them, you send to him at Drogheda, 500 foot and one troop of horse, and if your Lordship, by advice of the council, of war now with you, conceive any one or two of the pieces of ordnance you have now with you, to be sufficient to batter down castles or houses of strength, (which is the use for which he desires them), that your Lordship cause these also to be sent to him, with all the bullets and furniture belonging to those pieces, and as much powder as you can with safety spare. If you resolve to send ordnance to Drogheda, we pray your Lordship so to order it, as the horses employed hence to draw them, may be returned hither again to the owners, of whom they were borrowed."

On the day when this mandate of the Justices was written, the Earl of Ormond, who, in discharge of their previous instructions, was prosecuting hostilities at the Meath side of Drogheda, sent a guard into the town with the following prisoners: Edward Dowdall, of Monkstown; Laurence Dowdall, his son; Nicholas Dowdall, of Brownstown; Gerald Aylmer,

of Balrath, the lawyer; William Malone, of Lismullen; and Stephen Dowdall, of Gaulstown. The bulletin, which announces this fact, continues: "On Tuesday the 15th, and Wednesday the 16th, much pillage was sent home by the army, whereby the other side are made to see, that, now they have done pillaging us, we begin to pillage them. The Earl, having caused divers houses to be burnt and pillaged, and amongst the rest some of the lords' houses, he returned to Dublin with the army, saving 500 men and a troop of horse, which he left with Sir Henry Tichburne at Drogheda, the better to enable him to burn, spoil, waste, and destroy, all the rebels in the county of Louth, and the other parts adjoining to Drogheda, which Sir Henry hath begun to do; and saving 200 men which he left in garrison at Malahide. Sir John Netterville had surrendered to the Earl of Ormond, and since that time, George Devenish; John Talbot, of Robertstown; and Sir Andrew Aylmer, surrendered to the Lords Justices, as did also the Lord Baron of Dunsany on the 19th of March; and that Lord, and Sir John Netterville, and all the rest, stand committed to the Castle." It appears also, that "the Earl of Fingal wrote a submissive letter to Lord Ormond, and promised to come to him with one hundred more gentlemen, and Lord Ormond went to meet them, but they kept not promise, whereupon, a troop of horse rode to Killeen, and burnt it, and all other places belonging to the Earl of Fingal, wheresoever they came."

By all these disappointments, "the Ulster rebels" were rendered so destitute, that, as Lord Slane tells Lord Gormanston, in his letter of the 16th of April in this year (1642), "Sir Phelim O'Neill had but one firkin and a half of powder left, they all considered themselves as utterly ruined, unless the government would receive them to that mercy for which they sued; and such of their chiefs, as despaired thereof, were actually preparing, and must, if pushed, have been forced to fly into foreign parts for the safety of their lives"(a). Accordingly, in the outlawries of the day, occur, in this vicinity, the names of James Bathe, of Athcarne; Richard Cadell, of Harbertstown; John Cadell, of the Naul; Nicholas Darcy, of Platten; John Draycot, of Mornington; Henry Dillon, of Betaghstown; Nicholas Viscount Gormanston; Lord Viscount Netterville, of Dowth; Richard Porter, of Oldbridge; John Read, of Platten; John Verdon, of Clonmore, county Louth, &c.

Of Sir Phelim O'Neill it may be mentioned, that he maintained a precarious ascendancy in the North for some years after, until, in 1652, he was arraigned before the Commission issued in Dublin by the Commonwealth, for the trial of the offenders during the rebellion, and, although it was intimated to him, that a pardon should be extended to him, if he could give testimony that King Charles the First had authorized

(a) Carte, vol. i. p. 307.

him to levy forces against his government in Ireland, he yet firmly refused to save himself, by a declaration so scandalous and unwarranted, and was, accordingly, executed; while, in direct contradiction to any such inference of King Charles having participated in his movement, it appears, that monarch, by his privy seal, dated at York, the 30th of June, and at Stoneley Abbey, the 20th August, 1642, constituted Lord Moore governor of the county of Louth and barony of Slane, whereof he had a grant by commission on the 10th of September, with the fee of ten shillings per day, and power to prosecute all rebels, traitors, &c., "in consideration," as his Majesty expressed himself, "that, to the hazarding himself, and the loss of all his estate, he had contributed very much, as well before as during the siege of Drogheda, to the preservation of that town, and performed many other acceptable services there, since the beginning of that detestable rebellion, towards the suppression thereof, for his better encouragement to proceed cheerfully in the said service, and to the end he might be the better enabled thereunto."

One individual more, in connexion with the above events, claims some especial notice—Christopher, the second Earl of Fingal. He had taken his seat in Parliament in 1639, and was immediately appointed a member of the Committee for privileges and grievances. On the breaking out of the rebellion, he repaired to Dublin, accompanied by other noblemen, who with him waited on the Lords Justices, with

many professions of their loyalty to the king, and their readiness to assist in suppressing the rebellion; but this offer being suspected by the government, on account of their being of the Roman Catholic religion, he returned into the country, where he sided with Lord Gormanston and others of the county of Meath; and some time after the coming of Lieutenant General Byrne with his forces to Killsallaghan, his Lordship caused a summons to be issued, that all such as had horses should, on a certain day, under pain of death, meet at the hill of Tara, according to the conscription list made of the horses of the county of Meath, by Patrick Barnewall of Kilbrue. His Lordship was also at the meeting of the Roman Catholic lords and gentry at Duleek, and received orders to raise 500 men for the defence of the county of Meath against the English, which he accordingly raised. He likewise took an active part at the meeting held on the hill of Crofty, between the lords of the Pale and the Northern rebels. In direct reference to Drogheda, he was commander-in-chief of the horse at the above siege, and marched as their general towards Trim, issuing warrants, by which he commanded the inhabitants to meet, on pain of death, and sat in the council of war on the hill of Tara. For these several proceedings, he was, on seven occasions, indicted and outlawed, and was ultimately taken prisoner in the battle of Rathmines, fourteen days after which he died in the Castle of Dublin, and was buried in St. Catherine's church.

In February, 1642, the Marquess of Ormond and the other Commissioners, sent a trumpeter to Kilkenny with a safe conduct and summons to the Irish to meet them at Drogheda, on the 23rd of this month, as it was alleged there was no other convenient garrison within 30 miles of Dublin, able to entertain any considerable number(*a*). For all which services the English House of Commons ordered their Speaker to write him a letter in their name, acknowledging his wise and prudent conduct of the army, and expressing their great satisfaction in his conduct. The time and place, however, for the execution of his Majesty's commission, was subsequently altered to the 17th of March, at Trim(*b*). Nevertheless, a meeting, between the Marquess and a Committee of the supreme council of the Catholic convention, did take place here, immediately afterwards, respecting the cessation of arms; the assembly, however, broke up without effecting any thing definitive; Sir Henry Tichburne was then appointed Governor of Drogheda, with a fee of 13s. 4d. per day, and also sworn in one of the Lords Justices, at the Council Board. It may be mentioned of this distinguished individual, that he had, about the same time, conferred upon him, the government of the county of Meath, with the exception of the barony of Slane.

In September, 1643, the proclamation for the cessation of arms was at length agreed upon at Jig-

(*a*) Clanricarde's Memoirs, p. 340. (*b*) Id. p. 353.

ginstown, near Naas, between the Marquess of Ormond, in the name of the King, and Viscount Muskerry; Sir Lucas Dillon, knight; Nicholas Plunkett, Esq.; Sir Robert Talbot, Baronet; Sir Richard Barnewall, Baronet; Turlogh O'Neill; Geoffrey Browne; Iver M'Guinness, and John Walsh, Esqs.; "authorized by his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, of whose party they are, and now in arms in the said kingdom." Amongst the articles of this treaty it was "concluded and accorded, that the county of Dublin, the county of the city of Dublin, the county of the town of Drogheda, and the county of Louth, and as much of the county of Meath, as lies on the east and south side of the Boyne from Drogheda to Trim, and thence to Moylagh, and thence to Moyclare, &c., should remain and be, during the cessation, in the possession of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, and of such as adhere unto them respectively, saving and excepting unto the said Roman Catholic subjects now in arms, &c., and their party, all such castles, towns, lands, territories, and the lands and hereditaments thereunto belonging, which then were possessed in the said counties, or any of them, by any of the said party." During the whole of that year (1643) the Privy Council of Dublin were necessitated to issue several orders for obviating the scarcity of provisions, necessary to maintain the garrison of this town, and the corporation records preserve various accounts of monies paid by the inhabitants, on orders of Sir Henry Tichburne, Lieu-

tenant Colonel Byron, and Major Edward Billingsley. Amongst the disbursements appear, £90, for Lord Brabazon's Company; £79, for Captain Greene's; £69, Captain Bainbridge's; £92, Captain Hamond's; £73, Colonel Tyler's; £80, Colonel Savell's; £79, Captain Farrel's; £101, Major Peasley's; £239, Captain Bolton's; £413, Sir Henry Tichburne's; and £261 for Sir Henry himself; £259, for Colonel Byron's company; £258, Captain Tichburne's; £279, Captain Billingsley's; £169, Captain Loftus's; £259, Captain Ponsonby's; and £197, for Captain Cadogan's. In consequence of which heavy exactions on the townspeople, the Marquess of Ormond issued an order from Dublin Castle, that, upon the corporation contributing thenceforth £15 weekly for the support of the garrison, the town should not be further burdened. The corporation did, however, also, more locally and for municipal purposes, disburse, as appears from their books, a sum of £98, towards the repairs of St. Sunday's, St. John's, St. James's, and St. Laurence's gates, and of the town bridge. The west gate was then also built, and opened, new locks, as especially mentioned, put to all the gates, and works were thrown up to strengthen the mill mount; while, on the part of the government, for the encouragement of persons who would bring provisions and other commodities, to Drogheda, Dundalk, Carlingford, &c., for the relief of his Majesty's army and good subjects, it was ordered in council, that they should

be free from all customs and impositions whatsoever^(a).

In 1644, the Scotch covenant had many adherents in this town, and the Presbyterians were eminently successful in making proselytes ; amongst these, it is stated, was one resident lady of rank, who, in contemplation of admitting a party from Munroe into the town, had provided false keys for the gates, a circumstance which excited the resentment of the Lord Lieutenant, while Sir Patrick Wemyss, to whom the king had done many favours, and his Excellency many good offices, was considered culpable therein, at least so far as having concealed the conspiracy^(b). At the same time, the Irish House of Commons interposed to compel, from certain defaulters in Drogheda, the payment of their just and ascertained proportions of the State assessment. Amongst the individuals so particularized, occur the names of Richard Bryce, Thomas Delahoyde, Robert Cheevers, Gerald Nugent, Richard Tyrrel, Bartholomew Dardis, Nicholas Dowdall, Andrew Mortimer, Alexander Plunkett, Richard Cheevers, Thomas Taaffe, Henry Mortimer, John Walsh, &c. In this year William Plunkett died, seised in tail, with successive remainders to George Plunkett, Mathew Plunkett, and others, of two messuages and a garden in West-street, one in the tenure of James Hadzor Fitz George, the other in that of Christopher

(a) Borlase's Irish Rebellion, p. 204.

(b) Desid. Cur. Hib. vol. ii. p. 265.

Dromgoole; one garden in St. Peter-street, in the occupation of James White; a house and close in Irish-street, in the occupation of Thomas Everard; four messuages called Fyan's Row, with sundry other premises, all held of the Corporation of Drogheda, in free burgage(*a*).

In July, 1646, the letter of King Charles the First, in answer to the desires of Parliament for the surrender of Dublin and other garrisons of Ireland, into their hands, was communicated to the House. It ran in the following terms:

• “ His Majesty having considered the letter of the 6th instant, sent to him from the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, thinks fit to return this answer. That, as none can be more deeply affected than his Majesty, with the past and present calamities of his kingdom of Ireland, nor is so nearly concerned in the preservation of his Protestant subjects there, so he will be most ready to apply all future remedies for their deliverance. And as to the particular of the delivering forthwith of the city and castle of Dublin, the town of Drogheda, and all other garrisons in that kingdom, which are held by his Majesty's authority, unto the hands of such as the Parliament shall appoint, his Majesty, being most willing that all those places may be so disposed upon, that they may be best secured from the rebels, and serve most for the safety of his

(*a*) Inq. in Canc. Hib.

good subjects, doth again earnestly press the propositions, so long expected, for the peace of that and his other kingdoms, may be hastened to him, expecting that they will contain the readiest means, not only of preserving these places which are already in his power, but likewise of reducing the rest of that kingdom possessed by the rebels, to his obedience; and, as his Majesty knows not a more speedy or effectual way for attaining these ends, by removing all differences betwixt his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, so nothing will be more easily endeavoured by his Majesty than a solid and lasting peace be forthwith established.

“Newcastle, 11th of July, 1646.”

Drogheda and Carlingford were then, however, two of the towns which the confederate Catholics, in their propositions of that year, required should be garrisoned by Catholics, a requisition, which, if not then, was soon after in a great measure complied with, at least in the case of Drogheda, as the unfortunate Sir Arthur Aston, to whom its safety was intrusted by Ormond, when it was besieged by Cromwell, was a Roman Catholic, and it is expressly stated in the Essex MSS. at Stowe, that the majority of his officers and soldiers were of the same persuasion. In the above year (1646) the Lord Lieutenant and council instructed Sir Gerard Lowther, Sir Francis Willoughby, and Sir Paul Davis, to proclaim perfect freedom of trade to Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and Carlingford. About this time Peter Pep-

pard, a native of this town, and a member of one of its ancient families, was distinguished in the more peaceful walks of philosophy; and Comments of his on some of Aristotle's works are still extant in the Manuscripts of Trinity College. In May, 1647, a letter was despatched from the Clerk of the Irish House of Commons, to a certain Colonel in London, which appeared in the "Perfect Diurnal," immediately after. It is couched in the following terms:

"Noble colonel, you must pardon my last. By reason of Captain Rich's sudden going away, the strong and considerable castle of Carlow is delivered up on quarter, which hath much puffed up the rebels, who have now an intention to besiege Trim, the most considerable garrison within our quarters, next to Dublin and Drogheda. All our horse are commanded to rendezvous at Skreen, near Tara Hill, a champaign country, upon Tuesday next. It is supposed they will make up the number of 700. Two hundred of our foot are to be mounted, and go along with them. The rebels intend with all speed to fall into our quarters with a running army, to sweep away all our cattle, if not prevented by the power of our horse. Captain Stephens, and several other of our army are taken prisoners by Fitz Gerald of Ballysonnan; Mr. Hatfield being in the same company, saved himself and his money by the swiftness of his horse's heels."

In the June of the same year, Colonel Chidley Coote marched out of Drogheda with 500 horse,

into the county of Cavan, and by the break of day on the following morning, they fell into Owen Roe O'Neill's creats of the Ulster men; took two of the O'Reillys prisoners, and one M'Dawlie, three gentlemen of very good note, and leading men amongst the rebels; killed twenty-five, for they stood not one quarter of an hour, but ran into a bog; took 14 troop horses, 500 cows, 1000 sheep, and 250 plough horses; this is the third piece of service his regiment hath done. In the July following, Colonel Sir Henry Tichburne having marched out of this town, with his son, and "divers colonels, majors, and gentlemen of note, about forty in number, all officers and others of very good quality," were surprised by a horse party of the Irishry, near Balrothery; Sir Henry was badly wounded, his son was slain, as also Lieutenant Colonel Trevor, of Carlingford, and a few more, while Major Gore, Major Gibson, and others were taken prisoners(a).

In June, 1649, the Marquess of Ormond, having received intelligence that the parliamentary general, Jones, had sent the greatest part of his horse to Drogheda, "from whence," writes the Earl of Clarendon, "he would have been able to distress Ormond in various ways, and particularly by intercepting provisions from the country, despatched Lord Inchiquin, with a strong party of horse, to follow them, which he did with such success, that he sur-

(a) "A Bloody Fight at Balruddery."

prised a whole troop, and afterwards encountering Colonel Coote, at the head of 300 horse, routed the party, killing many, and the rest flying in great disorder into Drogheda." Inchiquin lost no time in sending an account of his success, adding, that he had reason to believe, if he pursued his advantage, and attempted the town, before the rebels recovered from their consternation, it would make but little resistance. Hereupon, it being considered in a council of war, that Dublin was too completely fortified, and plentifully manned, both with horse and foot, so that it would be a desperate action, to hazard the army by a general assault, and that there were not yet sufficient numbers to invest the place, especially while O'Neill and Monck, with the garrisons of Drogheda and Trim, lay so convenient to attack them, and that the reduction of the former of those places would secure a correspondence with the North, and give great encouragement to the Scots in Ulster (who made great professions of duty to the king, and had now, under the conduct of the Lord Viscount Montgomery of the Ardes, driven Sir Charles Coote into the city of Derry, and there beleaguered him^(a)), it was resolved, that the Lord Lieutenant should continue in his camp with 5000 foot and 1500 horse, to straiten Dublin, and be ready to countenance any stirs or revolts within the city; and that the Lord Inchiquin, with about the same number of horse and

(a) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion.

2000 foot, should block up Drogheda, with the assistance of Colonel Mark Trevor, who had lately declared for the king, and now helped to beleaguer the town. Inchiquin made an attempt, hereupon, to surprise the town, and on the night of the 27th of June, two of the gates were fired, and 200 men got in, headed by Colonel Worden, but were driven out again by the horse of the garrison. The Marquess of Ormond sent him, on the next day, two pieces of battery to attack the place in form, but, as soon as they were planted, the garrison, wanting men to defend their works, and their provisions being almost consumed, was obliged to capitulate. One of the articles was, that such of the garrison as were so inclined, should march with Fulkes, the governor, to Dublin, but, of about 700 foot and 255 horse, he was attended into that city with no more than 35 horse, and about 100 foot, the rest taking service in his Majesty's army(*a*).

While the royalist forces were thus in occupation of Drogheda, Cromwell, having been appointed by Parliament, General of their forces in Ireland, landed at Dublin on the 15th of August, being not a full fortnight after the defeat of Rathmines. "He brought with him about 9000 foot and 400 horse, and all necessaries for his army, and had a good fleet constantly to attend him"(*b*). "It was then plain," writes the Marquess of Ormond, in his letter against

(*a*) Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 73.

(*b*) Cox's History of Ireland.

the Declaration of Jamestown(*a*), "we were to be on the defensive part of the war, and that he would draw forth suddenly, to recover those places we had gained, and first, we were assured, he purposed to attempt Drogheda. We, therefore, applied our utmost industry, to supply that place with what it wanted, placed in it Sir Arthur Aston, as expert and gallant a governor as we could wish for, gave him the same men, and the same number of men, horse and foot that he desired, and furnished him with the full proportion of ammunition, and other provisions, that he demanded, judging, that if Cromwell could be there foiled, or kept before it but for a time, it would much advantage us that had so lately received so great a blow, as required time to recover, and the rebels, in the neck of it, having received so great a countenance and strength as Cromwell brought with him, being the best of the rebels' old army in England."

Within a very short interval of his debarkation, Cromwell proceeded from Dublin, and on the 3rd of September sat down before this town, in considerable strength, having sent his cannon and provisions by sea. Ormond, convinced of his design, had sent orders to the governor, to burn the town, destroy the fortifications, and to drive all the cattle before him from the surrounding country, and then secure himself, with those under his guidance, in some other

(*a*) Walsh's Remonstrance, App. 112

locality. The governor did not, however, obey this advice. The garrison consisted of about 2000 foot and 300 horse, all chosen men, commanded, as before mentioned, by Sir Arthur Aston, a Catholic officer of the ancient family, who, from the time of Gilbert de Aston, in the reign of Henry the Second, were lords of Aston, near Sutton in Cheshire. Although principally distinguished by his services in the royal army, he had spent the early part of his life in continental warfare; and among the Harleian MSS. (2149), are various testimonies to his military merits in the service of foreign Princes, as letters of Christopher Radzivil, Duke of Berne, Great General of Lithuania, dated in 1623, laudatory of his conduct in the wars there; a grant of a pension of 700 florins per annum, by Sigismund King of Poland, to him, dated at Warsaw in 1635; the same monarch's letter testimonial to his valour and good conduct, dated at Warsaw in 1630, and stating, that he had been sent to him by the King of England in the Turkish wars, and advanced to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy; a commission from Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to him, for raising a regiment of English soldiers, and transporting them into his service in 1631, &c. In 1640, Sir Arthur was appointed by the Earl of Strafford, Colonel General of one of the brigades of the royal army, and, in ten days afterwards, was chosen Serjeant-Major General of that part of the army which attended the king's person. He commanded the dragoons at the battle of Edge-

hill, and was afterwards Governor of Reading in 1643, where he thrice foiled the attempts of the Earl of Essex, but was compelled to resign his command, in consequence of a wound in his head. This accident, according to Clarendon, was esteemed a great misfortune to the king, as "there was not in his army a man of greater reputation, or one of whom the enemy had a greater dread." After his recovery he was made Governor of Oxford, an office which he filled at the time when the unfortunate Charles the First, by retreating thither, instead of pursuing his way to London, lost his crown and his life. Sir Arthur had here the misfortune of having his leg broken by a fall from his horse, under which circumstances, his future services being despaired of, the king settled upon him a pension of £1000 per annum. Nevertheless, on the defeat of the royalists in England, he transported a considerable body of forces to Ireland, when he was made governor of this town, the fortifications of which had been lately repaired under the direction of Ormond.

As Cromwell advanced from Dublin, the Irish forces along the coast, and in the adjoining interior parts of Meath, hastened to obstruct his passage, but as this could not be seasonably effected, on account of the promptness of his movements, and the unprepared state of the Irish, the only opposition they could make, was by sudden onsets, avoiding a general engagement, and at the same time retreating before him, in order to secure themselves within Drogh-

eda, and there, as well as they could, sustain a general siege. They at length took that refuge within the walls of this town, and closing the gates, resolved to defend the place to the last. Making their first appeal to heaven, mass was solemnly celebrated in the convent of St. Mary's, and prayers offered up in solicitation of the divine favour and interference. Presently the destroyer appeared before the town, and, having in vain summoned the governor to surrender, regardless of all regular forms of siege, he boldly planted two batteries against the strongest and most inaccessible positions, one to play upon that part of the wall which stood east of St. Mary's church (and which battery existed to a recent period), the other against the wall on its south side. Hence he continued to thunder on the town for some hours, but being two or three times repulsed by the garrison, and finding the south part of the wall too strong, he resolved to direct his increased energies from the east of St. Mary's convent, and against that part of the walls uniting with it. Here the garrison immediately collected their strength, also throwing up six entrenchments, three of them from St. Mary's church to Duleek gate, and three from the east end of said church to the town wall, and so backwards(a), while the Carmelites of that religious house, devoting themselves to aid the military, displayed the most heroic intrepidity, combined

(a) Cromwell's Letters.

with such skill in the management of defensive operations, as might not only do honour to more experienced soldiers, but actually struck the mind of Cromwell with doubt, as to the successful issue of his hostilities. He, however, continued to batter the walls for the remainder of that, the first day (being Sunday, the 9th of September), during which he was several times obliged to retire(*a*).

On the second day, he turned cannon against the heart of the town, with a design to demolish some of the principal houses, in which he partly succeeded, beating down the tower of St. Mary's church, and opening two breaches in the south and east wall, but the garrison, redoubling their exertions, prevented his obtaining the eventual advantages he that day had expected from the cannonade; several of his soldiers fell around him. At length, on Tuesday, the third day of the siege, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a most extensive breach was made near St. Mary's, where the enemy had a half moon on the outside, designed to flank an angle of the wall. The garrison defended the breach from behind an earth-work, which they had cast up within, and where they had drawn up the two or three troops of horse (which they had in the town), with the object of encouraging and supporting their foot; the fort of the mill-mount was also not unserviceable to them in the defence of the breach. Cromwell, meantime,

(*a*) Cromwell's Letters.

well knowing the importance of this action, resolved to hazard all upon it, and having commanded some guns to be loaded with bullets of half a pound, and fired upon the enemy's horse, who were drawn up somewhat in view, himself, with a reserve of foot, marched up to the breach, and, by this gallantry, giving fresh courage to his men, they advanced with more vigour than on any former occasion, yet were they twice repulsed, but on a third effort, Colonel Wall, of the garrison, having been killed at the head of his regiment, and the horse before alluded to, having, under the discharges of the shot, been forced to abandon their comrades, these also began to break and shift for themselves, which the assailants perceiving, entered about 6 or 700 men, and followed them so close, that "they overtook them at the bridge, which separated the previous scene of action from the town, and entered pell mell with them into the place"(a), not, however, without considerable loss on their part also, "Colonel Cossel being there shot in the head, whereof he presently died; and divers officers and men doing their duty, killed and wounded"(b).

The scene that ensued paralyzed all Ireland, and can never be mentioned without a thrill of horror. The clergy mingled with the soldiery, as they fled before the ferocious conqueror, perished indiscriminately with them; "so that," says Lord Clarendon,

(a) Ludlow's Memoirs, fol. p. 116, &c.

(b) Cromwell's Letters.

“except some few, who, during the time of the assault, escaped at the other end of the town, and others, who, by mingling with the rebels as their own men, so disguised themselves that they were not discovered, there was not an officer, soldier, or religious person belonging to that garrison left alive, and all this within the space of nine days after the enemy appeared before the walls, and when very many were even glad that they were engaged before a place, that was like to be so well defended, and to stop their further progress for that season of the year. This, indeed,” he adds, “was a much greater blow than that at Rathmines, and totally destroyed and massacred a body of above 2000 men, with which, in respect of the experience and courage of the officers, and the goodness and fidelity of the common men, the Marquess would have been glad to have found himself engaged in the field with the enemy, though upon some disadvantages.” It would appear, that, after the enemy entered the town, quarter had been promised to such as would lay down their arms, and given, until the conquest was complete; but Cromwell, who was assured by Jones that he had here the flower of the Irish army in his hands, the finest forces that could be selected to check his career, resolved by one tremendous blow, to impress on the Irish such a dread of his arms, as might intimidate them from offering him further opposition, and he deliberately issued his orders to put the whole of the garrison to the sword; thus, for the attainment of this terrific ob-

ject, tarnishing to latest posterity, the splendour of his military achievements.

The most respectable of the inhabitants of the northern portion of the town took refuge within the body of St. Peter's Church, while many others sheltered themselves in its steeple, which was composed of wood, though the body of the building was of stone. Cromwell, after a short deliberation, concluded on blowing up the whole edifice, and for this purpose laid a quantity of powder in a subterranean passage, then running under the church, and open; but, changing his resolution, he set fire to the steeple, and, as the garrison rushed out from the flames, they met death at the point of the sword. He afterwards ordered that the fugitives within the church should be massacred, plundered the building, and defaced its principal ornaments. Some few, who had escaped into Bolton Tower, and the West Tower which was attached to the west gate, were next subjected to the same unrelenting barbarity.

Alluding to this horrible scene, Cromwell himself writes, in his bulletin to Lenthal, the Speaker. "Divers of the enemy retreated into the mill mount, a place very strong, and of difficult access, being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly pallisaded. Sir Arthur Aston and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting at them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword; and indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbad them

to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men. Divers of the officers and men being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's church steeple, some the west gate, and others a round tower next the gate, called St. Sunday's; these, being summoned to yield to mercy, refused, whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames, 'God damn me, God confound me, I burn, I burn,' The next day the other towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves, and we, knowing that hunger must compel them, set only a good guard to secure them from running away, until their stomachs were come down; from one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men; when they submitted themselves, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. . . . And now give me leave to say, how it came to pass this great work is wrought; it was set upon some of our hearts that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God, and is it not so clearly that, which caused your men to storm the breach so courageously; it was the Spirit of God who gave your men courage and took it away again, and gave the enemy courage and took it away again, and gave your men courage

again, and therewith this great success, and therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory. It is remarkable that this people at the first set up the mass in some of the places of the town, that had been monasteries, but afterwards grew so insolent that, the Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great church called St. Peter's, and they had public mass there, and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, flying thither for protection. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two, the one of which was Father Peter Taaffe, brother to the Lord Taaffe, whom the soldiers took the next day, and made an end of; the other was taken in the round tower, under the report of a lieutenant, and, when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar, but that did not save him. A great deal of the loss in this business fell upon Colonel Cossel's and Colonel Ewer's regiments, Colonel Ewer's having two field officers in his regiment shot; Colonel Cossel and a captain of his regiment slain; Colonel Hewson's Captain Lieutenant slain. I do not think we lost one hundred men, though many be wounded. I most humbly pray the Parliament may be pleased this army may be maintained, and that a consideration may be had of them, and of the carrying on of affairs here as may give a speedy issue to the work, to which there seems a marvellous fair opportunity offered by God; and, although it may seem very chargeable to

the State of England to maintain so great a force, yet surely to stretch a little for the present in following God's providence, in hope the charge will not be long, I trust it will not be thought by any that have not irreconcilable or malignant principles, unfit for me to move for a constant supply, which, in all human probability, as to outward means is most likely to hasten and perfect this work. And indeed, if God is pleased to finish it here, as he has done in England, the war is likely to pay itself. We keep the field much, our tents sheltering us from the wet and cold; but yet the country sickness overtakes many, and therefore we desire recruits, and some fresh regiments of foot may be sent, for it is easily conceived, by what the garrisons already drink up, what our field army will come to, if God shall give more garrisons into our hands. Craving pardon for this great trouble, I rest,

“ Your most humble Servant,

“ OLIVER CROMWELL.

“ P. S.—A major, who brought off 43 horse from the enemy, since writing the above, told me that it is reported in their camps, that Owen Roe and they are agreed. The defendants in Drogheda consisted of the Lord of Ormond's regiments, Sir Edmund Verney, Lieutenant Colonel, of 400; Colonel Byrne's, Colonel Warren's, and Colonel Wall's, 2100; the Lord of Westmeath's of 200; Sir James Dillon's of 200, and 200 horse.”

In a subsequent report, dated 27th September,

1649, it is stated, on the same authority, that the officers and soldiers slain at the storming were as follows: "Sir Arthur Aston, Governor; Sir Edmund Verney, Lieutenant Colonel to Ormonde's regiment; Colonel Fleming; Lieutenant-Colonel Finglas; Major Fitzgerald, with eight captains, eight lieutenants, and eight cornets, all of horse; Colonels Wall, Warren, and Byrne, of foot, with their Lieutenants, Majors, &c. &c., the Lord Taaffe's brother, an Augustinian friar; 44 captains, and all their lieutenants, ensigns, &c. ; 220 reformadoes and troopers; 2500 foot soldiers, besides staff officers, surgeons, &c., and many inhabitants."

The "Irish Monthly Mercury," for December, 1649, "printed at Cork," thus unfeelingly triumphs in this sad encounter: "Not long after the sally at Dublin, which the enemy, out of modesty, call the battle of Rathmines, the Lord Lieutenant landed at Dublin, with an army so nourished in victory, that they never saw any defeat but those they gave their enemies. The first design we undertook was the gaining of Tredagh, in which Ormond had placed above 3000 of his select men, and Sir Arthur Aston for commander, one as unable to stand to it as to run away, and it may be that's the reason he fell in the service; doubtless he was better for a retreat, since every step he would make a halt. In a word, if the rule be true, of judging Hercules by his foot, one may conclude this a wooden governor; yet he had made so good earthen fortifications, that by

trusting to his works he showed what religion he was of. Their first retrenchment against us was the church, out of which they were soon dislodged, and I dare say it was the first time they ever went from church unwillingly, this being done too by some ordinances of Parliament, tis not unlikely the grave Presbyterians (if ever the drowsy assembly come into play again) may question their proceeding, and aver we have a mind our enemies should still continue Papists, by so pregnantly evincing there was no salvation for them in our church. At length the breach being found assaultable (more from the vent than the largeness of it), our army were so little courtiers, as to enter the town without so much as knocking at the gate, where all lost their lives but those that saved them. Of the first qualification there were about 3000, of the latter, 30, be it more or less."

The town having been thus completely reduced, and all resistance at an end, humanity would conclude that the lives of such of those, as had surrendered on admitted promises of quarter, and who yet survived, would be spared, however their persons might be disposed of; it was fated otherwise. Cromwell in the most savage but deliberate manner, issued his dreadful mandate, that even these should be put to the sword; and it is said himself witnessed and enforced this commandment of atrocity. The scene of carnage lasted five days, only thirty men being exempted for transportation to Barbadoes. Yet, how commendable his conduct ap-

peared in the eyes of the British Parliament, is evinced by the resolutions of that House. On the 2nd of October, they ordered that the 1st of November, then next ensuing, should be appointed for a day of public thanksgiving, to be observed in all the churches and chapels within England and Wales, "to render thanks to Almighty God, for his great mercy in giving such wonderful successes to the Parliament's forces in Ireland," and likewise directed "that a letter of thanks should be sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to be communicated to the officers there, taking notice that the House doth approve of the execution done in Drogheda, as an act both of justice to them, and of mercy to others, who may be warned by it;" and on the 11th of the same October, they voted £100 to Captain Porter, "who brought the news of the great successes in Ireland, for his pains and travel therein." When the carnage was consummated, the town was given up to plunder (a visitation which led to the destruction of its early records), and the place, with the lands about it, were allotted among such soldiers, as by reason of their wounds or worthiness were deemed the fittest objects of bounty. One native alone is recorded to have received a gratuity of land from Cromwell; that individual, of the name of Delahoyde, was proprietor of the mill which gave name to the mill-mount, and his having supplied Cromwell's army with meal, during their sojourn here, is assigned as the motive for this grant, the benefit of which some of his de-

scendants are said still to enjoy. Immediately afterwards Cromwell proceeded to invest Dundalk.

Amongst the officers of rank slain, in cold blood on this awful occasion, were, in addition to those enumerated in Cromwell's Reports, Colonels Pudsey and Walton; while Sir Arthur Aston, the governor, is said to have been massacred, by literally dashing out his brains with his own wooden leg. "A great dispute there was," says Ludlow, in his "*Memoirs*" (p. 117), "amongst the soldiers for his artificial leg, which was reported to be of gold, but it proved to be but of wood, his girdle being found to be better booty, wherein 200 pieces of gold were found quilted." The Marquess of Ormond, in his letters to the King and Lord Byron (preserved in "*Carte's Memoirs*"), says, that "on this occasion, Cromwell exceeded himself and any thing he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; and that the cruelties exercised there, for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity, as are to be found in the *Book of Martyrs*, or in the relation of *Amboyna*;" while, according to Echard, when O'Neill heard a rumour of the result, he swore, that if Cromwell had taken Drogheda by storm, he would have but to attempt the storming of hell, and he would take that too.—Some twenty-four pound balls have been, from time to time, discovered in the walls and ramparts of the town, which were, evidently, of the vollies discharged on this occasion, Cromwell having been the first ge-

neral who brought guns of that calibre into Ireland; and some shells, with an iron fuse leaded into them, have also been found, and alike attributed to his assault.

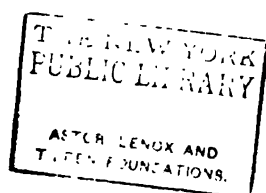
Yet, how little such a result was expected in England, is seen from the closing paragraph of the "Mercurius Pragmaticus" of 17th September, 1649, where, having, in the earlier part of the paper, mentioned, that "Lord Noll" had "turned his nose towards Tredagh, thinking to fire the town, but the sea had formerly so cooled it, that it looked as if he had wrapped it in an indigo bag, to keep it from firing the gun-room;" they conclude, "more certain news, that Cromwell hath now his iron sides banged to purpose, and is, as one letter speaks, beat back into Dublin, with a very great loss, at least 4000 slain, and 600 taken, himself wounded, but not mortal; the junto," so this royalist journal styled the Parliament, "have caused proclamation to be made at all seaports, for letters, that this news should not be divulged, but, as secret as they carry it, it is sufficiently known for truth. The king is said to be landed in Ireland, which adds new life and valour in the commanders and common soldiers, that by the next, you will go near to hear of Dublin being besieged, if not stormed, all their forces being now drawing that way. There is good store of money in the Castle, will make the soldiers storm lustily."

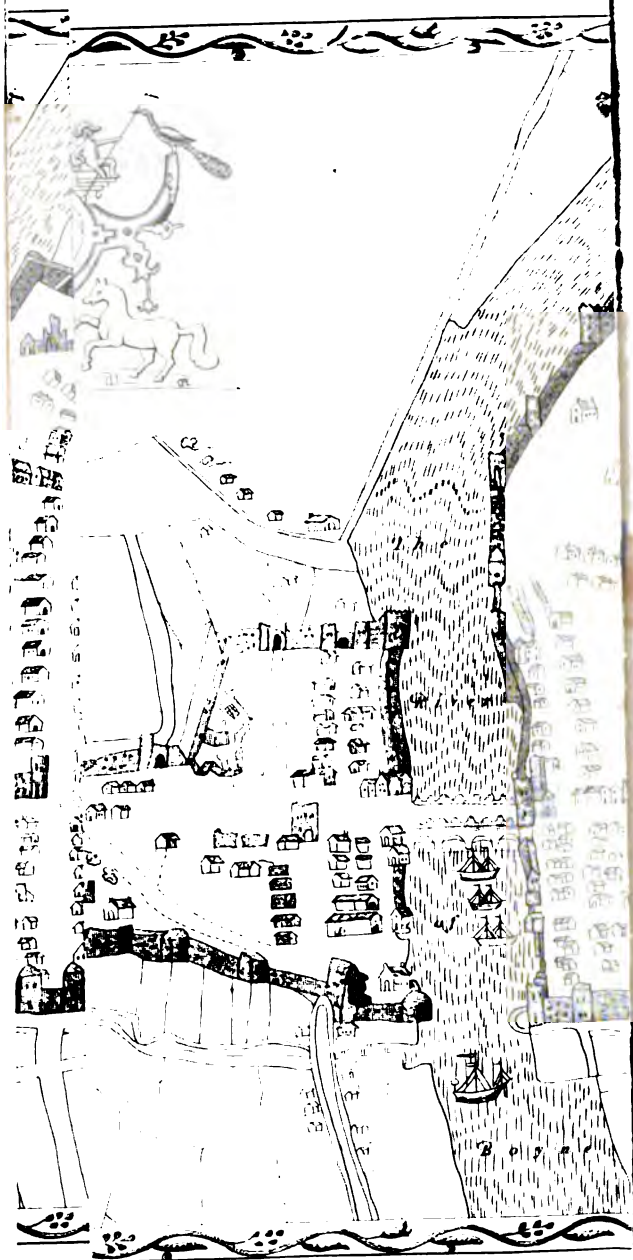
With all the terrors of his Irish campaign to foretoken his resoluteness, Cromwell immediately after-

wards assumed the command of the army against Scotland, and there effected, what neither the Roman Cæsars nor the English Edwards could accomplish, the utter discomfiture of a Scottish army. In 1652, General Ludlow, after scouring the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, and placing garrisons wherever he thought convenient, came to this town, where he met the rest of the parliamentary commissioners. Having staid eight days here, he continued his march hence to Carrickmacross, "a house belonging to the Earl of Essex," which he caused to be fortified and garrisoned, being advantageously situated to restrain the enemy's excursions(*a*). In 1656, when an assessment was, by an Act of the Protector and his Parliament, laid on, at the rate of £35,000 per month in England, £6000 in Scotland, and £9000 in Ireland, to continue for three years; the proportion chargeable on the county of Louth with Tredagh, was fixed at £590 12s., and that on the county of East Meath, at £1903 18s. Another memorable assessment was, at the same time, ordered to be apportioned on the different districts of Ireland, to defray rewards proposed for the destruction of wolves, "which, of late years, had much increased in many parts of this nation;" the scale proclaimed was, for every bitch dog, £6; every dog wolf, £5; every cub "that preyeth for himself," £2; and for every suckling cub, 10 shillings.

(*a*) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 162.

In the Abstract of that map of the Down Survey, which was made here in 1657, a very interesting description of this town occurs, where, speaking of the barony of Duleek, it is written: "This barony hath scaped very well from depopulation, during the late wars, by reason that it hath been defended by an eminent city and garrison, called Drogheda. This city is a very remarkable place for trade, it being the passport to the northern parts of Ireland. It is situated very pleasantly on the mouth of the river Boyne, where she pays tribute to her mother, the main ocean. This city is built of stone low houses, very decent, part whereof is situated on the north side of the river, and part on the south, over which there is a very fair stone bridge. There stood two very fair churches in it, one called St. Peter's, and the other St. Paul's, which were in good repair, until the late troublesome times; St. Peter's church stands on the north side of the bridge, and the other on the south. It hath been several times besieged since the war. It was once gained by the Irish, in 1649, but it was soon after, in the same year, regained by storm, when there were 5000 men slain, at which time, it happened, that the churches were blown up. There is a market kept there once a week, which happens on Saturdays. It affords great stores of provisions, linen, yarn, and cloth. The north part of this barony is meared with a very fine river, called the Boyne, which takes its rise out of the King's County. Through the midst of this barony there





ans another river, called the Nanny Water, over which there are several bridges. These two rivers afford no great store or variety of fish; salmon, trout, and eels, being the best it yields, but no great plenty." On the face of the map, the tide is represented as ebbing and flowing to two miles above the town; Maiden Tower, and its adjoining pillar, are distinctly exhibited; while in the margin is sketched a vignette of St. Mary's church and the mill-mount. In the same year, and in aid of that survey, the interesting map delineated on the accompanying sheet was taken. It has been reduced, by the kind care and skill of Mr. Merrall, from the original, preserved in the Muniments of the Corporation. It affords no names to the streets, nor key to the public buildings, but the walls are defined, and the towers that strengthened them, to the number of nineteen at the north side, and eleven at the south; the public edifices in the former section are, St. Peter's church, the Dominican friary, the Tholsel, the Bishop's palace, and the ruins of the abbey; those at south of the river are, St. Mary's church, the Custom-house, the Castle, and the buildings on the mill-mount.

That, notwithstanding this unexampled visitation, the town, however, retained some of its wonted commercial importance, appears from many tokens which circulated thence, bearing the respective impresses of "Samuel Stanbridge, of Drogheda, 1653;" "Edward Martin, of Drogheda;" "Andrew Hamlin, of Drogheda, merchant;" "John Ley, merchant, in

Drogheda, 1657;" "Richard Jackson, of Drogheda, merchant;" "John Bellew, of Drogheda, March.;" "John Killogh, of Drogheda, March.;" "Lebbeus Lownd, groser, Droghada, 1667." Specimens of all these are in the collection of the Reverend Richard Butler, of Trim; while, in that of the late Dean of St. Patrick's, are some of "Hugh Fowkes, of Drogheda," and Francis Poole, of Drogheda, merchant: and Snelling, at No. 6, has one of "Hen. Coker, of Droghedaes, Ierland, a penny tok' for necessary change, 1660." An account of the customs and excise in Irish ports, about the latter period, states the value of the imports at Drogheda as £1911 14s. 2d., and of its exports, as £2037 3s. 4d. There were, at this time, in Drogheda, as appears from "The Civil Establishment of the Commonwealth for Ireland," the following ministers of the Independent or Baptist congregation, having respectively the salaries stated at their names: Michael Briscoe, £200; Mr. John Hooke, £120; Mr. Thomas Hicks, £100; allowances, which, according to the change in the value of money, would now be about ten times those respective calculations.

In 1659, as appears from Ludlow's Memoirs, Captain Lisle, having dispossessed Lieutenant-Colonel Desborough of the governorship of Drogheda, himself succeeded thereto. In 1660, the Corporate Assembly granted forty shillings yearly, towards the rent of a house, for the correction and punishment of vagrants, rogues, and sturdy beggars, as long as

said house should be so employed. In the same year, in King Charles's Declaration for the Settlement, several clauses were inserted, in favour of Erasmus Smith, whereby the Irish Council was directed to satisfy his deficiency, as an adventurer, in some convenient forfeited lands in the county of Louth, "that he might be better enabled and encouraged, to answer those public pious uses, in incorporating five free schools in Ireland, and to reprise him such lands, now or lately in his possession, that are restored, or restorable, to the former proprietors;" all which possessions were confirmed to him by a subsequent Act of Parliament. Those so referred to, as in the county of Louth, extended from Tullyesker to Clogher, and, according to the royal intention, he obtained a charter for the establishment of the five incorporated schools in Ireland, one of which is that before alluded to, as still existing here. In 1661, on the occasion of the celebrated "Remonstrance," the only Roman Catholic clergyman, who signed it in Drogheda, was the Reverend John Scurlock, Prior of the Dominicans of that town. Primate Bramhall, about this time, repaired the archiepiscopal palace here, which he had found in a ruinous state; and the Corporation soon afterwards granted to him and his successors, the guard-house by St. Laurence's gate, at one shilling yearly rent, with a proviso, "that if any rebellion happen, the same is to be made use of for a guard-house as formerly, if it shall be thought fit."

By one of the clauses of the Act of Settlement, after reciting that several of the inhabitants and proprietors, as well of Dublin as of Drogheda, who constantly adhered to the Royal authority, until the withdrawal thereof from Ireland, in 1647, were since expelled from their habitations and estates in the time of the usurped power, it was enacted, that any such, "who did not at any time adhere to the Papal clergy, or other the Irish rebels, in opposition to the Royal authority; and the heirs and widows of such of them as were dead, should be restored to their former estates, and to all their houses, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, freedoms and immunities, respectively, in the said city of Dublin, and town of Drogheda, and elsewhere."

In 1664, the corporation petitioned Lord Ossory and the Privy Council, for permission to erect a wooden bridge over the Boyne, at the estimated expense of £3000, and prayed an aid for that object; whereupon the Attorney-General was directed to frame a bill to effectuate their wishes, and such a bill was accordingly drawn up, entitled "An Act for repairing the bridge over the river Boyne, in the town of Drogheda," read twice in the house and committed; but, on the report of the committee it was rejected, as "a bill not fit to pass into a law." A wooden bridge, however, appears to have been soon afterwards constructed.

In 1665, the Assembly directed the Mayor to make a solemn perambulation of the franchises, with

the usual train and ceremonies, while they at the same time took more important measures to enforce a proclamation of government, "that no master of a vessel should come ashore, nor suffer passengers to land in any part, without license first obtained from the magistrate," a prohibition rendered necessary by the existence of a prevalent contagion in England. In 1666, and the immediately subsequent years, occurred various royal grants from King Charles the Second, of which the following, in Drogheda or its immediate vicinity, are deserving of notice. In 1666, Arthur Earl of Anglesey passed a patent for various parks of arable pasture, and furzy land, sundry orchard plots, garden plots, gardens, and cabins within the liberties of Drogheda, as well on the Meath as on the Louth sides. In the following year, John Byssie, Esq., then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, had a grant to them, in trust for the (1649) officers, whereby various tenements in Pillory-street, Fair-street, Scarlet-lane, South Key-street, St. John's-street, St. James's-street, and St. John's-lane; several parcels of land within the liberties at both sides of the river; a park and garden plot without Duleek gate; a park near West Gate; two parks west of Monemore, a meadow in Yellow Batter, &c., were conveyed to them. This patent, however, contains a saving to the corporation of Drogheda of their right to certain parcels included in the grant. Sir George Rawdon, Baronet, and William Brett, had at the same time a grant on a similar

trust, of a tanhouse and other premises in this town, as had also Captains Thomas Stewart and Hugh Montgomery, of premises in West-street, Harp-lane, St. Laurence's-street, Shop-street, Bachelor's-lane, Deer-street, and Pillory-street, saving certain claims therein of Thomas Delahoyde, Christopher Cheevers, Richard Mortimer, Alderman George Peppard, &c. Colonel Clayton and Captain Lindsay were so constituted trustees for the same object, of certain premises in Pillory-street. In 1668, Sir Hans Hamilton had a similar grant of other premises here, as had William Montgomery of a house in Shop-street, called the Queen's Head; a small garden and old walls in St. James's-street; part of a new building in St. Laurence-street, and other tenements in Pillory-street. Sir Arthur Forbes, Bart., Colonel Stewart, and Captain French, were in like manner made trustees of a slated brewhouse, a malthouse stone walled, on the south quay, and other premises in this town. In 1669, William and Henry Finch, and Captain Thomas Mills passed patent on like trusts, for other premises in Drogheda, while Jenico Viscount Gormaston, in the same year had a grant (*inter alia*) of certain messuages in St. Laurence's-street, Booth-street, St. Peter's-street, St. Sunday's-street, Back-lane, St. John's-street, a messuage in St. Peter's-street, near the commons called the Cowlies, with part of the commons; an orchard without St. Laurence's gate, a messuage near the Tholsel, and a garden on the big hill, with sundry other premises, and a privilege to

be toll and custom free ingate and outgate. In 1670, Bartholomew Doyle had a grant of a dwelling-house on the quay, at the Louth side, while Sir Robert Booth, Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Audley Mervyn, Prime Serjeant, passed patent in the following year, for premises on the same quay. Various other evidences of the transfer of property here at this period, are to be found in the enrolled Certificates for Adventurers and Soldiers, the Decrees of Innocents, and the Adjudications in favour of the (1649) officers, all of record in the Rolls of Chancery.

In 1666, the corporation directed the pulling down of the old cross that had existed in the town, and the erection of a Court of Guard, at their expense; they also at the same time ordered, that every house to be built within the town walls for the future should be slated, and that every building lease should contain an imperative clause for that object. In 1668, the amount of customs and excise in the chief ports of Ireland was as follows: Dublin, £33,137; Cork, £10,236; Galway, £4863; Youghal, £4795; Kinsale, £3697; Londonderry, £3327; Carrickfergus, £3085; Drogheda, £3037; Ross, £1578, &c. In 1669, the corporation passed a resolution, "that, forasmuch as the town was in want of an able and sufficient Doctor in physic, there being none inhabiting in or near the same, and being informed that Dr. Laurence Taaffe is an able physician, and would willingly inhabit in the town, if he might have a pecuniary al-

lowance for his encouragement, it was therefore ordered that he might have £10 for his yearly salary, settled upon him, and that he should be free of all taxes from the time of his inhabiting within the town." In 1676, besides sundry entries for disbursements on repairs of the walls, the corporation books exhibit other resolutions of interest. Twenty pounds was voted to Charles Wilson, for clearing the swash mouth of the river of Boyne, "so that it is now navigable according to his agreement with this corporation." Two aldermen were also appointed "to receive the benevolence of the inhabitants of this town for the relief of those of Athy, who had suffered greatly in the late wars, and the Mayor and Aldermen were empowered to add what they thought fit out of the town purse, to make the sum of value; and lastly, it was ordered that the Aldermen, according to their turns, should attend church in their gowns, in the forenoon and afternoon of Sundays. In the following year the corporation petitioned, that the Drogheda militia might be independent of the Louth, and that the mayor for the time being should be its colonel.

In 1678 "a proclamation issued, forbidding the Papists from coming into the Castle of Dublin, or any other fort or citadel, and ordering the markets of Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal, and Galway, to be kept without the walls, and that no Papist should be suffered to reside, or dwell in any garrison, except such as had been inhabitants

there, by the space of twelve months before, and that the Papists should not meet in unusual numbers, or at unreasonable times. . . . Not long afterwards the Lord Lieutenant and Council, by their letter ordered the Popish inhabitants to be removed from Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Drogheda, except some few trading merchants, artificers, and others necessary for the said towns and garrisons, and by virtue thereof many were expelled; but by the stupidity of the Protestants, and at their request, and upon their security, the Papists were readmitted into these towns"(a). An individual of the name of John O'Heyn, was one of those who, in consequence of this intolerant tyranny, were obliged to withdraw from this town. He was by birth of Galway, became a Dominican friar of the convent of Athenry, thence pursued his studies at Burgos, and afterwards at Salamanca; taught philosophy in France and Louvain, and then was made master of the novices in the convent of his order in this town. On his expulsion from Drogheda, he betook himself again to Louvain, whence, after some years of exile, he returned to Ireland, and, continuing there during eight years, was again expatriated in 1698, and appears to have soon afterwards closed his life, as chronologer of his order, in the Irish College at Louvain.

In order to control promiscuous mendicancy and

(a) Cox's History of Ireland.

imposition here, the Assembly, in 1682, ordered, that no person should be admitted to beg within the corporation, but such as were licensed by the mayor, and three or four of the aldermen; and every alderman was empowered to command the town constables, to apprehend all idle vagrants, and commit them to the house of correction. In 1683, the assembly voted an address "to congratulate his Sacred Majesty on his royal brothers' most happy deliverance from the late most damnable conspiracy against them," and, on the demise of that monarch soon afterwards, adopted an address to James the Second, on his happy and peaceable accession to the throne of his ancestors, acknowledging at the same time, their satisfaction in his Majesty's gracious declaration, to maintain the religion and laws established in Church and State, together with their unfeigned resolutions to serve his Majesty, in defence of his royal authority, with their lives and fortunes. In further testimony of their joy at his accession, when his coronation was being celebrated, they ordered that a hogshead of wine should be drank on the occasion at the Tholsel door, and beer, with tobacco and pipes, given to every foot company to drink the king's health, all charges being defrayed by the corporation. About this time, in pursuance of the Commission of Grace, Christopher Cheevers passed patent for certain lands in the county of Meath, together with Carnaghtown, 196 acres, and a mill thereon; Ballymakenny, Halton, and Skellies, part of the

same, excepting the glebe land thereon; sundry parks outside Drogheda; four houses in Peter-street; a horse-mill, and plot in Fair-street, and several other plots and tenements within the liberties, to hold in socage for ever. Other patentees, under the same commission, were Thomas and Christopher Peppard, Alderman Edward Singleton, Alderman Daniel Tomlinson, and Patrick Plunkett.

In October, 1686, on its being intimated, that the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant, was to visit the town, the Assembly ordered, "that there be all due preparations made to receive his Excellency, and that provision be made to give him a decent treat at the Tholsel, at the discretion of the mayor." A gold box was also directed to be prepared, to present to him with the freedom of the corporation, and all charges to be defrayed by them. His Lordship's account of this visit, is given in his letter to the Earl of Rochester, preserved in "Singer's Correspondence." It is dated from Dublin Castle, October 23rd, 1686. "I went on Tuesday to Drogheda, as I told you in my last I intended. I lay at Mellefont, the Earl of Drogheda's, being earnestly invited thither. The next morning I came back to the town, and saw nine companies of Sir Thomas Newcomen's regiment (who are there quartered), drawn out, and exercised. They seem to be very good men, are very well sized, and as adroit as can be expected from new men. I dined at the mayor's, in the evening I returned to Mellefont; and the next

day, being Thursday, I came hither, as I resolved at my going out. When I was at Drogheda, the packet of the 14th instant from England arrived, which filled the town with news. Captain Taafe, Lord Carlingford's brother, declared, that his letters told him, that his captain, my Lord Blessington, was put out, but he could not yet tell who was in his room; that my Lord Roscommon was discharged, and was to have £500 per annum pension; that Colonel Russel was to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the Duke of Ormond's regiment; and that Colonel Anthony Hamilton was to have Russel's regiment; and that Mr. Lutterel was to be Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Thomas Newcomen, in the place of Anthony Hamilton; and that there were to be other alterations in the army. I am sure, I know nothing of all these changes, and perhaps, it is not very usual in other armies, for private captains to leap over old officers' heads, to be lieutenant-colonels, but the favour of great men goes far. Perhaps these reports are not true, but, whether they are or no, it seems I am to be the last who is to know them, as I was the last time; but the King's will be done. The public News-letter from London was likewise produced. I read it myself, and, amongst other intelligence, it is said, Mr. Fitz James is speedily to go Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, and the Earl of Tyrconnel is to be his Deputy. . . . I am so accustomed to mortifications, that I hope I know how to bear this, with that resignation which becomes me, though I confess, if I am recalled

in disgrace, it will go very near me. . . . This has been a great day here, kept solemnly by Act of Parliament, and having, upon that occasion, had much company, I do not write so composed as I should." On the same day, the Viceroy received " the terrible news of the King's displeasure."

In the following year, his successor, Lord Tyrconnell, in one of those indiscreet attempts to enforce authority as by prerogative, and which ultimately led to the subversion of his royal master's dynasty, assumed to direct, that Mr. Ignatius Peppard should be elected mayor of Drogheda, and, although the corporation remonstrated against such an innovation on their laws and customs, as to elect one a mayor, who had not been previously an alderman, Peppard was, nevertheless, afterwards sworn. He died immediately after his mayoralty, when, on an inquisition *post mortem*, he was found to have been, at the time of his decease, seised in fee of one house in Deer-street, called the Blue Boar's Head, and other houses near the quay; two messuages situated in the bull-ring; sixteen acres outside Duleek gate, near the bog of Beamore, &c., the title to all which, he acquired under a lease from the corporation. It appears, indeed, from the celebrated case of Peppard *versus* the Mayor of Drogheda, reported in the second volume of Browne's Parliamentary Cases, that King James's corporation assumed to themselves the power, of not only making leases for long terms of years, but also reversionary leases, by one of which,

the subject of the above suit, they affected to demise to Christopher Peppard Fitz George, an immediate relative of the said mayor, the house or hospital of St. James, without St. James's gate, with all the messuages, houses, wind-mill, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and appurtenances, thereunto belonging, for sixty-one years, after the expiration of a term of which there were then fifty-two years unexpired, at the same yearly rent of £8 10s. It may be added, that on the expiration of the old lease, the corporation, having in vain demanded possession of the premises, exhibited a bill in Chancery for their recovery, and were accordingly decreed them discharged of the reversionary lease, a decision, which was confirmed, on appeal to the English House of Lords. The constituent members of King James's corporation have been enumerated, in the portion of this work treating of the Corporate History; and it is but here to add, that the Lord Lieutenant of Louth and Drogheda appointed by him, was the Lord of Louth; and the Deputy Lieutenants, Roger Bellew and John Babe. It may be here mentioned, in reference to families projected to notice at this time, that, when Tyrconnel issued a proclamation, dated 11th April, 1687, appointing, in the several counties of Ireland, influential individuals, to aid the Commissioners of Revenue in the collection thereof; those nominated for the county Louth were, John Taaffe, Arthur Brownlow, alias Chamberlain, Murtough Mac Guinness, Thomas Bellingham, Patrick Bellew, and Richard

Bolton, Esquires; those for Meath were, Sir Edward Tyrrel, baronet, Thomas Loftus, Stafford Lightburne, George Pepper, Henry Cottingham, Walter Nangle, Hugh Reilly, and Hugh Bowen, Esquires; and for the county of the town of Drogheda, its Mayor or Recorder for the time being. Another similar proclamation immediately afterwards, in especial aid of the hearth-money collection, appoints Murtough Mac Guinness, Thomas Bellingham, Richard Bolton, Timothy Armitage, John Babe, Henry Baker, Nicholas Garland, and Hugh Garland, Esquires, overseers for Louth; Sir Arthur Rawdon, baronet, Sir John Dillon, Sir John Fleming, Sir Garret Aylmer, knights, Nicholas Cusack, Thomas Bellew, Thomas Loftus, Joseph Pratt, Stafford Lightburne, Robert Longfield, and Henry Draycot, for Meath; and the Mayor or Recorder of Drogheda, as before, for the county of that town.

On the 12th of March, 1688 (old style), King James the Second, abandoning his English throne, by reason of the desertion of his cherished favourites, and the open rebellion of his own children, landed at Kinsale, where he was received with all imaginable joy by his Catholic subjects of Ireland. Remaining there only until the money, arms, and ammunition he had brought with him, was put on shore, he, on the 14th, proceeded to Cork, where his ill-selected Viceroy, Tyrconnel, met him, and gave his account of the state and condition of the kingdom. On the 24th, the monarch made his entry into Dublin, "ac-

accompanied with all the marks of duty, honour, and affection imaginable; the streets were lined with soldiers and hung with tapestry, covered with gravel, and strewed with flowers and green leaves; the appearance of the magistrates, nobility, gentry, judges, and of all ranks of people, was suitable to the most solemn ceremony of that kind, and performed with the greatest order and decency imaginable. The King, riding on horseback, was more discernible to the people, whose loud and joyful acclamations, made him some sort of recompense for the indignity he had suffered from his other subjects"(a).

Soon afterwards, he made a march of personal inspection northward, returning from which, he passed through Newry on the 3rd of April, 1689, and on the 4th, was received in this town, with much apparent testimony of allegiance; while the Recorder, Henry Dowdall, presented to him the following address of the town authorities: "Most sacred Sir," said this officer, in his memorable welcome, "Among the many miracles which adorn almost every step and passage of your most sacred Majesty's life, we think none more conspicuous, taken in all its circumstances and providential accidents, than your Majesty's late more than miraculous landing, in this your ancient, loyal and long suffering kingdom, a blessing, by so much the more surprising, by how much the less expected: a blessing, of which our

(a) Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 330.

ancestors never could dream, when their thoughts were proudest : a blessing, for which we ourselves never could hope, when our misfortunes allowed no other consolation, but what we were forced to seek in dubious prophecies, or in our almost worn and tired devotion : a blessing, in fine, which late posterity will scarce believe, be it ever so credulous." After some paragraphs of fulsome panegyric, adapted to the circumstances and taste of the age, he proceeded : " And, though we cannot but utterly abhor and detest the first moving cause of this your most gracious visit, yet cannot we but praise and bless providence, for having raised to us, on the perjury, treachery, and perfidiousness of others, a fair opportunity of exerting those loyal principles, which our slaughtered ancestors signed with their blood, and avowed with their dying groans. Yes, sacred Sir, it must make for the credit of long wronged Ireland, that she still suffered for, and with her royal master, and if now there be found in her any distemper or peccant humours, it proceeds from the too great fullness of pampered traitors, who, gorged with the fat of loyal sufferers, must, at length, have broke out in the old sores and ulcers of rebellion. But since it pleased God, and you, great Sir, to have preserved the head and heart still sound, the malignance of the distemper being now cast into the extremity of one limb, and the sore being brought to maturity, your Majesty may with safety apply a discretionary medicine. What remains to me, great Sir, is, humbly

to implore your Majesty's acceptance of a sacrifice, which, this day I am commissioned to offer, the hearts and hands of this adoring crowd, the lives and fortunes of all these the ancient inhabitants of your Majesty's most loyal town of Drogheda: that their blood is sincere, and proof against the scurvy of rebellion, witness these walls; witness the pavements consecrated by the gore of their ever faithful progenitors. We will conclude, great Sir, with a short prayer, and it is, not that your Majesty either protect us in, or restore us to, our lost property, our churches, or our benefices, no, our loyalty is so se-raphic, that it rejects all these drossy alloys of self-interest, but it is, sacred Sir, that heaven, whose darling we are sure you are, may grant to your most sacred Majesty, after having dashed to pieces all treasonable and traitorous associations and conspiracies, and after having soared, like a sun in its full meridian, over the heads of all your enemies and unnaturally rebellious subjects, after having dismembered rebellion itself, that infernal hydra, and driven it into its hellish mansions, where, we were sure, it took its first breath, a happy, a speedy, a safe and a glorious return to your ancient Imperial throne; in success, a Cæsar; in conquest, an Alexander; and in religion, a Constantine."

This Recorder Dowdall, was afterwards a member of the Parliament which James convened in Dublin in the following month, and which was attended, from this vicinity, by the following Protestant peers;

the Primate of Armagh (Doctor Boyle), the Earl of Drogheda, the Bishop of Meath, and Lord Dundalk (Gorge): and by the following Catholic peers; the Earl of Carlingford, Viscount Gormanston, Viscount Dowth, Viscount Mount Leinster, Lord Slane, Lord Trimlestown, Lord Louth, and Lord Duleek; while amongst the commoners were Henry Dowdall, the said Recorder, and Aldermen Christopher Peppard Fitz George, as members for Drogheda; Thomas Bellew and William Talbot, for the county of Louth; Hugh Gernon and John Babe, for the borough of Ardee; and Sir William Talbot and Sir Patrick Barnewall as members for Meath. Any detail of the Acts of this Parliament would be foreign to the present history, further than to observe, that the following individuals connected with Drogheda, were intended to be affected by the Act of Attainder passed therein: Thomas Grenogue, John Heeny, innkeeper, Nehemiah Elwood, and Lieutenant John Newton, while the ensuing class were proclaimed as absentees: Joseph Dunbar, gentleman; Dean Tobias Pullen; William Greaves, vintner; Captain Hugh Montgomery; Jones Elwood, gentleman; Edward Singleton, gentleman; Robert Foord; Thomas Newton, senior; Thomas Newton, junior; Thomas Meade; William Newton, Chandler; Robert Hardman, merchant; John Leigh; Joseph Tomlinson; John Sandisford; Thomas Willis; and ——— Kirton, gentleman.

While this Parliament was yet sitting, “on Whit-

sun Monday, the town of Drogheda was alarmed by two officers, who rode through it towards Dublin, telling them, that the Scots were within six miles, and had taken the great guns, carriages, ammunition, and provisions, that were going to Derry, and had killed the convoy, whereupon, the townspeople immediately planted their guns, and shut up the gates, having only two companies of the new raised men, and a few horse of the Lord Galmoy, in the town. An express was sent immediately to Duleek, where the Commissioners of Inquiry into the estates of the absentees, were met (being busied in swearing and examining the tenants of the Earl of Drogheda, and others, as to what rents they paid, and what arrears of rent were due), requiring them to repair to the town, and bring with them what strength they could for its fortification. Some being sent out to know the truth of the matter, returning, told them it was only a false alarm, though it was generally said and believed, that several cart loads of their ammunition, provisions, and arms, were intercepted and taken by the people of Ballyshannon and Enniskillen." The pamphlet, from which this notice is extracted, was originally printed in 1689, and is preserved in Lord Somers's Tracts. Immediately following this passage, is a comment on the legislative body sitting in Dublin, which, as a contemporaneous exposition of the fatuitous policy, and delusive jealousies, that marred their councils, and led to the speedy defeat of their presiding Sovereign, seems intimately

connected with the events, the catastrophe of which Drogheda was fated to witness.

“ There has been a motion in the House of Commons, for naturalizing all Frenchmen, insomuch, that some said in the House, that they ought to have a day of thanksgiving for the coming of the Prince of Orange into England. They are preparing for another court of claims, and reducing the fees of all offices, throwing all forfeitures into the stock of reprisals, into which stock the late king has thrown his private estate that he had in Ireland. The old proprietors are taking possession daily, before the Act that makes void the settlement of Ireland passeth, some of them paying the quit-rent to get into possession. Eight Protestant peers, four being spiritual, and four temporal, entered their protest at the Bill passing the Lords’ House, and Mr. Justice Daly opposed it to that degree, that, in his passion, he said many things that were highly resented, the substance whereof was, that, instead of being a Parliament, as we pretend, we are more like Massaniello’s confused rabble, every man making a noise for an estate, and talking nonsense, when our lives are in danger; we expect a sudden invasion from England, and a bloody war likely to ensue, as persons altogether unmindful of the ruin that hangs over our heads; and, without taking any care to prevent it, we are dividing the bear’s skin before she is taken. All the honour, we do his Majesty, is, by reflecting on his royal father and brother as wicked and unjust princes, charging

them with enacting those laws, that were contrary to the laws of God and man; which the House summed up in six articles against him. They would have been contented with a submission, but he refused any, saying he would go to Jamaica rather, yet his friends prevailed on him at this juncture, to ask the pardon of the House, and yesterday he was to have come into the House of Commons; and accordingly, the House being sat, the Usher of the Black rod went in, and acquainted the Speaker that Mr. Justice Daly was at the door, upon which, it was put to the question in the House, whether his asking of pardon should be a sufficient satisfaction for them to pass by his miscarriages, and, it being carried in the affirmative, Mr. Nugent, of Carlingstown in the county Westmeath, a member of the House, was ordered to go and acquaint him that the House was resolved to accept of his submission, that so there might be admittance for his coming to receive pardon of the House. Mr. Nugent, returning into the House, told the Speaker, that Mr. Justice Daly was very thankful, and ready to come in to make his submission, and at the same time said, Mr. Speaker, I have other great news to tell you, viz., Londonderry is taken; upon which, there was three great shouts set up in the House, and throwing up their hats, they cried out, 'no submission of Mr. Daly!' but afterwards, some of the members (none of Mr. Daly's friends), finding it false, thought it was some trick put upon them, and threatened Mr. Nugent to

bring him on his knees before the House. They are now passing an Act, that all leases, above one and twenty years, of any corporation in Ireland, shall be void, and it is doubted whether Dublin will be excepted; they are likewise laying a duty of fifteen shillings per ton upon sea coals, and taking away the Poundage Act, which, in corporations, is the clergy's support; the Ulster Act of tithes; and the Act for impropriations and augmentation lands; that so, by taking from the clergy their maintenance, the churches may fall of themselves; an Act attainting sundry persons by name; and another, granting £15,000 per month for supplies to King James."

It is but justice to the memory of the unfortunate James, here to contrast with the proceedings of that Parliament, the speech with which he opened it; it affords a striking illustration of how far the best intentions of a monarch may be carried away, by the impetuosity of the party spirit around him. "The exemplary loyalty which this nation expressed to me, at a time, when others of my subjects so undutifully misbehaved themselves to me or so basely betrayed me, and your seconding my Deputy, as you did, in his bold and resolute asserting my right, in preserving this kingdom for me, and putting it in a posture of defence, made me resolve to come to you, and venture my life with you in defence of your liberties and my own right; and to my great satisfaction, I have not only found you ready to serve me, but that your courage has equalled your zeal. I have

always been for liberty of conscience, and against invading any man's right or liberty, having still in mind, the saying of the Holy Writ,—‘Do as you would be done to, for this is the law and the prophets.’ It was this liberty of conscience I gave, which my enemies, both at home and abroad, dreaded to have established by law in all my dominions, and made them set themselves up against me, though, for different reasons; seeing, that if I had once settled it, my people, in the opinion of the one, would have been too happy, and in the opinion of the other, too great. This argument was made use of to persuade their own people to join with them, and so many of my subjects to use me as they had done, but nothing shall ever persuade me to change my mind as to that; wheresoever I am master, I design, God willing, to establish it by law, and have no other test or distinction but that of loyalty; I expect your concurrence in so Christian a work, and in making laws against profaneness, and against all sorts of debauchery. I shall most readily consent to the making such laws, as may be for the good of the nation, the improvement of trade, and relieving such as have been injured in the late Act of Settlement, as far forth as may be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good of my people; and I shall do my part to make you happy and rich. I make no doubt of your assistance, by enabling me to oppose the unjust designs of my enemies, and to make this nation flourish.”

The rumours of an invasion of Ireland, from England, were in a few weeks verified, Monsieur Schomberg having landed on the 13th of August, at Bangor, near Belfast, accompanied by a considerable and well appointed army. King James hereupon, with the concurrence of Lord Tyrconnel, some of the French officers, and many of his own subjects, despatched the Duke of Berwick to command the troops about Newry, and to keep the place as long as he could; he next ordered Sir Charles Carny to quit Coleraine, and come off by the way of Charlemont, lest he might be intercepted by the enemy; and on the 26th of August went himself to Drogheda, to encourage his own men and be nearer the enemy, that he might better observe their motions. He took with him one hundred of his horse guards, two hundred of Parker's regiment of horse, which were all at that time in a condition to march, and left the Duke of Tyrconnel (who was then unwell), behind at Dublin, to expedite troops after him, as fast as they could be got into a condition to march.

Schomberg, immediately on his landing, besieged Carrickfergus, which he took, but not without a resistance of eight days, and soon afterwards possessed himself of Dundalk. A scarce pamphlet, dated 2nd September, 1689, and entitled "An account of Duke Schomberg's march towards Dublin," contains the following passages in reference to the state of the country at this juncture: "His Grace Duke Schomberg intends to take in Charlemont, being upon his

march towards Dublin, having only the Newry pass and Drogheda to take, the Irish daily imploring protection as he marches The fine woods at Santry and Clontarf are all cut down, and the ways palisadoed between Swords and Dublin, and King James threatens to fight the English between Drogheda and Dundalk, and intends to march his army thither, having fortified the town of Drogheda with all the care and diligence they are capable of, which truly is not much, for a safe retreat in case the enemy should be beaten, thinking that they may endure a winter's siege, and then they may be relieved by the French at spring, the Irish bragging that they have left the North for the English to make themselves graves."

It was on the day of the date of this publication, that King James issued his proclamation "from our Court at Drogheda," which declared, "we will cause 40s. sterling, to be paid to any soldier, whether Catholic or Protestant, English or stranger, now serving under the command of Marshal Schomberg, who will come and enlist himself in our army, and as to the officers, that we will give them the same command that they had in the enemy's army, and also will prefer them to better employments as they shall deserve." This monarch's troops having come up, he formed a camp, and found his men, both officers and soldiers, hearty and resolute, as men who felt a conviction that nothing but victory could secure them from losing their liberty, their estates, and re-

ligion; nevertheless the French ceased not persuading the king to retire towards Athlone, and by consequence to desert Dublin. “ Even the very night before the Duke of Tyrconnel came to Drogheda, who brought with him the remainder of the troops, they pressed him with more vehemence than ever, to come to some resolution, as they called it, which was in effect to abandon all; but the king told them, that if once he made a step back, the whole country would be so disheartened as to give all up, that the newly raised troops would dwindle away to nothing, and that whoever had anything to lose, would run into the enemy to seek protection. This reasoning not sufficing, but, on the contrary, the arguments and earnestness of those who urged a retreat having been redoubled, the king told them, with more than usual warmth, that he would not do so irrational a thing; that he was positively resolved to fight the enemy, it being neither agreeable to his temper nor reputation to abandon Dublin, and make so shameful a retreat, unless he was forced to do it. The next day the Duke of Tyrconnel came up and gave the king an account of the condition and number of his troops, and what he had left with Mr. Simon Luttrell, the Governor of Dublin; upon which his Majesty called the Ambassador, and all the general officers, to consult what was fit to be done; the Duke of Tyrconnel and the rest of his own subjects, were unanimously of his own opinion; the Duke, moreover, assured them there was not corn enough in Connaught to sub-

sist 20,000 men for two months, upon which the king resolved, now he had got his army together, which consisted of near that number, to advance towards the enemy, as they came not towards him, but remained still at Dundalk, though their cannon and stores were put on shore, and the Enniskilliners had joined them with two regiments of horse, as many of foot, and one of dragoons, such as they were; accordingly, upon Holyrood day, the 14th of September, they marched from Drogheda to Ardee. The French Ambassador was for this march, but not Monsieur Rosen, who, according to his wonted caution, would never give any advice, but retire and avoid fighting, not that he wanted courage, for no man had more, or more experience in war; but it was his misfortune to be over-cautious, besides he had writ into France, as the king was informed, that it was impossible for his Majesty to get an army together, and when he saw the contrary, had a mind it should do nothing"(a).

With the wish, however, of a prompt encounter with Schomberg, King James advanced to Ardee, "which," says a Report, dated October 16, 1689, "is now his head quarters, and where salt, brandy, and tobacco are not to be had." Not finding Schomberg there, he advanced as far as the bridge of Affane, and subsequently removed to that of Maplestown, where he learned that his opponent had begun to

(a) Clarke's Life of James II. vol. ii. p. 377.

fortify Dundalk as his winter quarters, his army being encamped on the other side of the river, while he kept with himself in the town, and within the entrenchments (at which they were then working), two battalions of horse and a battalion of foot. King James, willing to profit by the eagerness of his adherents, drew up his forces in battle array, but Schomberg declined hazarding his master's cause at that juncture, as he well might, with an army then languid and distempered, suffering under the fatigues of their recent march, the inclemency of the climate, and the deprivation of food, fuel, and covering; whereupon, James, instead of ordering an assault upon a camp, that, as Story suggests, "it certainly was not impossible to force," with that fatuity and indecision, which marked his progress in Ireland, and which, on this occasion, induced even Marshal Rosen to say, "if you possessed a hundred kingdoms you would lose them," fell back upon Ardee, where he remained until the 3rd of November; when, breaking up his camp, but leaving six battalions of foot, and fifty horse, in Ardee, and other detachments in its vicinity, he returned himself to Drogheda, where he kept as his own guard six battalions of foot, and sent the rest into winter quarters. On the 8th, finding that Schomberg (who in truth was theretofore expecting supplies of men and provisions from England), had also decamped northward with a large number of sick soldiers, James returned to Dublin, after sending a detachment to occupy Dundalk, and

leaving but three battalions in Drogheda, and thus ended the campaign of 1689.

Soon afterwards, a printed notification entitled, "Great and good News from Ireland," was industriously circulated in the sister country, with the obvious intention of urging the desired arrival of King William to confront his rival. It stated that "Advice came to King James at Dublin, that the famous town of Drogheda was lost, Duke Schomberg having detached a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, consisting of 5000 men, under the command of Lieutenant-General Douglas, who, investing the place, immediately ordered their miners, and raised a strong battery of whole and demy cannon, which in a little time made so great a breach in the old wall, that our men, after having filled up the ditch, entered the town pell-mell, and put all that did not immediately lay down their arms to the sword. All the prisoners profess themselves willing and glad to be taken from the misery they feared would come upon them, by which you may judge what may be expected if our king were once over." The rumour, however, was utterly without foundation. Another Report of more veracity, referring to the 20th of March, 1689, states the recent death of Marshal de Col, Governor of Drogheda, and of Colonel Mortles; and adds, that the forces of James, at Dundalk, Ardee, Cavan, Castle-Blaney, and Drogheda, were in a bad condition, dying in great numbers for want of provision and other conveniences, and that

in Ardee alone, there were at that moment 300 sick. A third pamphlet of the time states a circumstance, so thoroughly in keeping with the fatuity that influenced King James's actions, as to leave little doubt of its occurrence. "On Saturday last, passed through Chester for London two gentlemen, who lately made their escape from Dublin, by whom, amongst other relations, we have it confirmed, that three regiments of French marched into Dublin, upon whose arrival King James ordered Colonel Dorrington and Colonel Fitz James, to march their forces towards Drogheda, and to deliver their posts to the French; which so alarmed the chief of the Irish, that, after a short consultation amongst the principal of their officers, it was agreed, that Dorrington, accompanied with some others, should wait upon the late king, to know if by this his Majesty's orders it was intended, the French should have the guard of his person, which, after some small time of cabinet consultation, the king declared it to be his pleasure; which words so surprised and incensed Dorrington and his party, that immediately himself, Colonel Barker, and about twelve other chief officers went to the king, and delivered up their commissions, telling him withal, that many more resolved to do the like. The proceeding startled the late king and his council, and put them on this medicine, to prevent the evil consequences of disobliging either faction, that the oldest battalion of Irish guards should keep their place as before, and that a battalion of French should join

with them ; but this decision pleased neither party, and some high words happened even almost to blows; though Tyrconnel did not publicly appear in these disturbances, neither was he comprised, as has been said."

In June, 1690, King James receiving intimation, that his kingly rival was soon expected in Ireland, thought fit to commit the government and charge of Dublin to Colonel Lutterel, and to advance himself with about 6,000 French foot, old experienced soldiers, to join the rest of his forces, intending to penetrate northward as far as Dundalk, to eat up the forage thereabout, and preserve the county Louth behind him. On the 16th of that month, he proceeded to Castletown-Bellew, where he encamped, on the southern bank of the river that falls into the sea at Dundalk, and having that town on his right hand. His movements were, as it might be supposed, narrowly observed by the opposite party ; and, in a letter from Mr. Francis Gore, dated 19th of June, 1690, "from the bridge between Dundalk and Newry" (i. e. Flurry-bridge), to the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Purcel, Governor of Newry, and which is preserved in the Manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin, the following account is given, as gleaned from prisoners: " King James has 20,000 men encamped about Bedloe's Castle (Castle Roche), and this night they expect 10,000 French ; their artillery is not yet come up to them, but expected in one day or two. Their King is at Dundalk, and soon designs to re-

move thence to Armagh, where they hear, the greatest number of our army lies now. The prisoner gives you an account of as many regiments as he can think of, which are, Tyrconnel's two regiments of horse and dragoons; the Royal regiment, 3; Gordon and Neill's regiment of foot, 4; Mac Gillicuddy's regiment of foot, 5; Lord Dungan's regiment of dragoons, 6; Colonel Parker's regiment of horse, Brigadier Maxfield's regiment of dragoons, 7; Lord Galmoy's regiment of horse, 8; and several regiments of foot, whose colonels he knows not." James, however, having learned that William had landed on the 14th at Carrickfergus, and was preparing to march with a vast army forthwith to Dundalk, did not think his present position tenable against such assailants, and, therefore, retired on the 23rd towards Ardee, where his artillery joined him, and thence, ultimately, on the 28th of June, crossed the Boyne, and encamped upon the opposite side, having his right wing towards Drogheda, and his left pointing up the river. There, considering it a point, which, though not the most strong for himself, was the most exposed for permitting the advance of a hostile army, he resolved to await and oppose his rival, although himself had not above 20,000 men, of whom only the 6,000 French could be considered experienced soldiers, but the rest being fresh, ill-disciplined, and half armed, while William's attacking army was composed of between 40 and 50,000, all disciplined veterans, familiar with victory, encou-

raged with pay and plenty, and animated by a fearless leader. It is also to be recorded, that, between Schomberg's and William's train of artillery, there were fifty pieces, thirty of which were particularly noted for their large size and calibre; while James had at the first but twelve field-pieces, six of which he was infatuated enough to send off with part of his baggage to Dub'lin the night before the battle. Neither is it to be forgotten, that the soldiers and adherents of King James were paid in the most debased coinage. Sir James Ware states, that, "even brass failing to answer his exigencies, a new contrivance was, just before this battle, set on foot, of impressing pieces of a debased white metal like pewter, and these, it is said, were intended to be passed at the currency of a crown, and a proclamation was prepared for authorizing their issue, had not the subsequent success of King William put a stop to the project. These pieces were stamped about the edge with this inscription, contrived possibly to prevent the clipping of the valuable stuff: 'Melioris tessera fati. Anno regni sexto.'"

With all these inauspicious circumstances, King James's council of officers further reminded him, but in vain, that the naval armament of France was completed, and the fleet perhaps already on the English coast; that Louis had promised, as soon as the squadron attending on William should return, he would send a fleet of frigates into the Irish seas, to destroy his transports; that he would be thus fatally

detained in Ireland, while Britain was threatened by foreign invasion, and the domestic enemies of the reigning prince concocting an insurrection. In such circumstances, they advised him to wait the event of these designs formed in his favour; not to hazard an engagement against superior numbers; to strengthen his garrisons; to march to the Shannon with his cavalry and a small body of foot, and thus to maintain a defensive war against an enemy, that, in a strange and unfriendly climate, without provisions or succours, must gradually perish by disease and famine. Their monarch, on the contrary, as before, contended, that to abandon the capital, were to confess himself subdued; that his reputation must be irreparably ruined; that the Irish, who judged by appearances, would desert; and, what was of still more moment, his friends in England and Scotland must be dispirited, and deterred from their attempts to restore him. He expressed satisfaction that he had at last the opportunity of one fair battle for the Crown; he insisted on maintaining his present post, and from such animated language his officers concluded, that he meant to take a desperate part in the engagement; yet, with an ominous precaution, that betrayed the broken spirit of a once gallant and skilful commander, he despatched Sir Patrick Trant, one of his commissioners of revenue, to Waterford, to prepare a ship for conveying himself to France, in case of any untoward consequences.

King William was equally anxious and sensible

it was his interest, to bring the contest to an immediate decision; and, on the last day of June, 1690, at dawn of morning, he moved his army forward in three columns towards the Boyne. After refreshing his troops out of view of the Irish, at the back of the eminence now occupied by Townley-hall, and where the stone, on which himself breakfasted, is still traditionally pointed out, he placed himself at the head of his advanced guard, and passing through the glen, that seemed to open an avenue for him, and which is still popularly styled King William's glen; he appeared, by nine o'clock, within two miles of Drogheda, on a no less favourable field for disposing his forces, in front of the fords of Oldbridge. Observing the eminences of Tullyallen at his left, he rode to their summit, with his principal officers, to take a view of the enemy. On their right, full in view, was their then friendly town of Drogheda, filled with Irish soldiers; westward of the town, on the further banks of the river, their camp extended in two lines, with a morass on the left, difficult to be passed; in their front was that tongue of land, bounded by the Boyne, which afterwards became the field of the fiercest fight; while the Boyne itself, there, in most places deep and dangerous with rugged banks, was yet further defended by breast-works, and margined with huts and hedges, convenient to be lined with infantry; on the hill at their rear, appeared the church and village of Donore, but other eminences to the south-west, intercepted any further view of

their encampment; so that Scravenmore, one of William's generals, who counted but forty-six regiments, spoke with contempt of the enemy's numbers; when King William replied, that more might be concealed behind these hills, and many be stationed in the town, "but it is my purpose," he added, "to be speedily acquainted with their whole strength." As his army was marching into camp, he advanced within cannon range of the ford at Oldbridge, with the object of closer observation, and dismounted, while Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and some others of James's generals, rode slowly along the opposite bank. On remounting, a ball, from a field-piece concealed by a hedge, hit the bank of the river, and taking a slanting direction, grazed his right shoulder, tearing his coat, and slightly lacerating his flesh, but, though a report of his death was quickly circulated, he sustained no other injury than a temporary difficulty in using his sword arm, and that difficulty he did not permit long to retard his personal military service(*a*).

On the night of the same day, he called a council of war to receive his orders, and then directed the plan of attack for the ensuing morning, which was, that the river should be passed in three different places; by his right wing, commanded by Count Maignard de Schomberg, son of the Duke, and Ge-

(*a*) It is said, that, during the whole time this scar was kept open and discharged matter, his Majesty continued perfectly free from his asthmatic complaint.

neral Douglas, on the west, towards Slane, where the river was in almost every place fordable, and on the success of which, might be attained the advantage of out-flanking the Irish army, and cutting off their communication with that pass of Duleek, which afterwards preserved them on their general rout; the centre was directed to cross the river, under the command of Duke Schomberg, in front of James's camp, leaving the left wing to be led over by the king himself, at a ford between his centre and the town of Drogheda. The movements of the next day being thus arranged, and "Westminster," declared the pass-word for the night, as stated in his "Royal Diary," he, at midnight, once more rode through his camp with torches, inspected every post, and issued his final orders for that important engagement, of which a short narrative here may not be deemed irrelevant.

Early on the following morning, Tuesday (July 1st), "the day being," as Story says, "very clear, as if the sun itself had a mind to see what would happen," the right wing, the cavalry of which was commanded by Count Schomberg, and the infantry by General Douglas, marched towards Slane, which should have been considered the key of King James's position, and, therefore, the earliest, and best guarded, but to their surprise, they were even permitted to cross the river without any opposition, and, although they were met on the other side by Sir Neill O'Neill's regiment of dragoons, which, on a partial adoption

of General Hamilton's advice, King James had ordered to be stationed over night at the ford, and, although this little band acquitted themselves with great gallantry, yet, the superior number of their opponents, above 10,000 horse and foot, soon compelled them to retreat, with the loss of their colonel, and (according to Story) seventy of their men; whereupon, without hesitation, they forced their way through corn-fields enclosed by deep ditches, beyond which lay a morass still more embarrassing, yet into which the infantry were ordered to plunge, while the horse, by a firm passage to the right, effected their own way, although with fatigue and difficulty. The left wing of James's forces, astonished at the boldness of this movement, fled instantly towards Duleek, not without suffering great loss in their flight, being vigorously pursued by Count Schomberg.

In the mean time, when it was supposed, or, as Story has it, communicated by an express from General Douglas to his King, that the right wing had made good their passage, the infantry in the centre was set in motion; the Dutch blue guards, followed by the Huguenots, Enniskilleners, Brandenburgers, and English, plunged into the stream where it wound about the tongue-like promontory of Oldbridge, the only field that seemed to open between the high southern banks; and there they boldly advanced in front of the enemy's lines and breastworks, checking the flow of the river by their numbers, and causing the water to rise so high, that, although they

had only the natural current to wade through, the tide not being then on the ebb or flow in the Boyne, the infantry were obliged to carry their muskets above their heads. When they were about midway in the water, the Irish army fired from behind the hedges, breastworks, and cabins, which somewhat protected their front; a volley from the river, however, drove them back, at sight of which, a squadron of General Hamilton's horse bravely charged the Brandenburgers. That squadron was, nevertheless, also repulsed; but in its retreat, fell upon the advanced Huguenots, broke their lines, and killed their General, La Caillemotte, after which, in the necessity of its flight, this diminished troop, wheeling through the village of Oldbridge, with the object of joining the Irish army, was almost utterly cut down by the Dutch and Enniskilleners. Soon afterwards, the Duke Schomberg, while rallying the scattered Huguenots, now without a commander, was assailed by a detachment of King James's Guards, from whom having received three sabre cuts, and at last a more fatal pistol ball, he fell dead from his horse into the river. Other accounts are given of the manner in which this memorable hero died, but as that, here adopted, is not only so related in King James's Memoir, but also in the London Gazette of 10th July, 1690, it seems more conformable to the truth. The celebrated defender of Derry, the Reverend George Walker, whose passion for military glory had hurried him unnecessarily into this engagement, received

about the same time, a wound in his belly, and instantly expired.

After an uninterrupted firing of an hour, the disorder on both sides occasioning some respite, the centre of the English army began to recover from their confusion; while the Irish retreated to Donore (near the old church of which their Sovereign had remained during the engagement, surrounded by his guards), and here, drawing up in good order, once more advanced to the fight. William, who, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, another son-in-law of James the Second, had crossed the river at a ford within a mile of Drogheda, with the left wing of his horse, including the Dutch, Danish, and English cavalry, now placed himself at the head of his army, and when the enemy had, in a rally, advanced from Donore, almost within musket shot of his infantry, he was seen sword in hand, animating his squadrons, and preparing to renew the engagement. James's troops, however, after a short halt, again retraced their steps to Donore, but there facing about, charged with such success, that the English cavalry, though commanded by William in person, were repulsed. His assailants were in their turn gallantly charged by the Enniskilleners, supported by the Dutch, and ultimately by all the English army, when the battle was for some time maintained with equal bravery by both parties; until, the Irish infantry having been broken, and Hamilton's cavalry, after a furious charge, also routed, James and

his troops retreated through the pass of Duleek, over the little bridge, which was then the only safe mode of crossing the Nanny-water thereabouts, the banks higher up being impracticable by reason of a bog. When Count Schomberg, informed of his father's death, and his zeal being thereupon fired by a spirit of revenge, hotly pursued the fugitives, covering the ground with carnage; but King James had no sooner passed Duleek, than Tyrconnel and Lausun, with some horse and foot, turned upon the pursuers, "and made so good a countenance, that they suffered them to pass quietly over the brook, and bring away five of their six pieces of cannon, the other, being bogged, was lost." Then it was, that, by King William's command, the Earl of Portland obliged Count Schomberg and his forces to return to the commons of Duleek, where that monarch's infantry had encamped, and there all remained under arms that night, while the main body of the fugitives effected their retreat, in such order as was commended by their enemies, to another great defile on the Dublin road—the Naul. The loss on James's side was computed to be about 1200, while on William's it scarcely amounted to one-third of that number. The chief persons of distinction slain on the former were, besides Sir Neill O'Neill, the Lords Dungan and Carlingford, the Marquess d'Hoquincour, Colonel Green, and many others. On the latter were, as before related, Schomberg, Caillemotte, and Doctor Walker.

Of Duke Schomberg, who, at the advanced age of

82, here closed his long military career, Harris, in his "History of William the Third," says, "he was descended of a very ancient and noble family in the Palatinate, and was the son of Count Schomberg (slain at the battle of Prague, in 1620), by his first wife, an English lady, daughter of Lord Dudley. Forced by the calamities of his country to abandon it, the Duke retired to Holland, where he served, first in the army of the United Provinces, under Frederick-Henry, Prince of Orange, and after became the particular confidant of his son, William the Second; on whose death, in 1650, he engaged in the service of France, and gained so high a reputation, that, next to the Prince of Conde, and Marshal Turenne, he was esteemed the best general there, though, on account of his firm adherence to the Protestant religion, he was not raised for a considerable time to the dignity of Marshal. In November, 1659, he offered his service to King Charles II., to aid his restoration to the throne of England, and in the year following, the Court of France, being solicitous for the interests of Portugal against the Spaniards, sent him to Lisbon, and in his way he passed through England, in order to concert measures with King Charles, for the support of the former kingdom. He advised that king to set up for the head of the Protestant religion, which would keep the princes of Germany dependent, make him compeer of their affairs, and, by gaining him great credit with the Huguenots, keep France in continual awe of him. He

advised him also to employ such military men as had served under Cromwell, whom he thought the best officers he had ever seen; and above all to keep Dunkirk, which would be a check both upon France and Spain, but in every particular his council was rejected. After his arrival in Portugal he commanded the Portuguese army with such success, that Spain was forced to make peace with them and to acknowledge the House of Braganza lawful heirs to that Crown; for which eminent service, he was created a Grandee of the kingdom and Count of Mertola, with the grant of a pension of £5000, sterling, to him and his heirs. In 1672, he commanded the French armies in Catalonia, and in 1676, the French king, when returning to Paris, confided to him the command of his army in Flanders, soon after which he obliged King William, then Prince of Orange, to raise the siege of Maestricht, and, though a Protestant, had the baton of Marshal of France conferred on him; but, when the persecution and suppression of the Reformed religion began in that kingdom, in 1685, he desired leave to return into his own country, which was denied him, and all he could obtain was a license to go to Portugal. When he went thither, though he had preserved that nation from the yoke of Castile, yet there were those who represented to the king the protecting a heretic in so odious a light, that he was forced to send the Marshal away. He thereupon retired to England, and, passing through Holland, entered into a parti-

cular confidence with the Prince of Orange, and being invited by the Elector of Brandenburg to Berlin, was made Governor of Prussia, and constituted Generalissimo of his armies ; he was also treated by the young Elector with the same regard his father had expressed for him, and in 1688, was sent by him to Cleves, to command the troops raised by the Empire for the defence of Cologne." When the Prince of Orange was preparing for his expedition into England, the Marshal obtained leave of the Elector to accompany him, and upon his advancement to the throne, Schomberg was created a Baron, Earl, Marquess, and Duke, with a succession of honours, whose well-merited rapidity has only been equalled in the present times in the career of a noble individual, whose acquirements and achievements bear many striking similitudes with the subject of this notice. Schomberg, too, was as great in council as at the head of an army, and withal a man of great calmness, application, and conduct, true judgment and undeviating probity; courteous and affable, yet had an air of grandeur that ever commanded respect.

Immediately after the battle his remains were removed to St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where they lay until the 10th of July, when they were solemnly deposited under the communion table. The interment is noticed in the Register, but being in pencilling, is now somewhat illegible. Dean Swift made repeated applications to the descendants of this veteran warrior, to contribute to the erection of a

monument to his memory, and in particular on the 10th April, 1728, wrote to Lord Carteret in the following terms: "The great Duke of Schomberg is buried under the altar in my Cathedral. My Lady Holderness is my old acquaintance, and I writ about a small sum to make a monument for her grandfather; I writ to her myself, and also there was a letter from the Dean and Chapter, to desire she would order a monument to be raised for him in my Cathedral. It seems Mildmay, now Lord Fitz Walter, her husband, is a covetous fellow, or whatever is the matter we have had no answer. I desire you will tell Lord Fitz Walter, that, if he will not send £50 to make a monument for the old Duke, I and the Chapter will erect a small one of ourselves for ten pounds, wherein it shall be expressed that the posterity of the Duke, naming particularly Lady Holderness and Mr. Mildmay, not having the generosity to erect a monument, we have done it of ourselves: and, if for an excuse they pretend they will send for his body, let them know it is mine, and rather than send it I will take up the bones, and make of it a skeleton, and put it in my Register Office, to be a memorial of their baseness to all posterity. This I expect your Excellency will tell Mr. Mildmay, or, as you now call him, Lord Fitz Walter; and I expect likewise, that he will let Sir Conyers D'Arcy know how ill I take his neglect in this matter, although, to do him justice, he averred that Mildmay was so avaricious a wretch, that he would let his own father

be buried without a coffin to save charges." Receiving no answer to this or his other applications, with the sanction of his Chapter in full assembly, the Dean caused a large slab of black marble to be erected in the Cathedral, with an inscription much to the effect which he threatened. King William after the battle created his son Count Schomberg (who so signalized himself on the eventful field), Baron of Tara, Earl of Bangor, and Duke of Leinster, all which Irish honours became extinct by his death without male issue. — Caillemotte, who had served Schomberg in most of his campaigns, found an humbler grave, which is still traditionally pointed out as a well-preserved mound, between two old elms, within Mr. Coddington's classic demesne at Oldbridge. In his instance, also, King William's gratitude was evinced in the person of his elder brother, the Marshal Ruvigny, on whom he conferred the command of Schomberg's regiment of horse.— Doctor George Walker, rendered famous for his defence of Londonderry, had been, in 1662, instituted to the rectories of Donaghmore and Erregal-Keerogue, in the county Tyrone. On the revolution he threw aside the gown, raised a regiment to maintain King William's cause, early threw himself into Derry to promote that object, was chosen its governor, and by his eminent services effected the raising of the siege. After that event he passed over to England, where he was graciously received by their Majesties, obtained the thanks of the House of

Commons, and a grant of £5000. It is said that King William, on this occasion, appointed him Bishop of Derry, "that so he might receive the reward of his great service in the place where he did it." That see was not, however, in point of fact then vacant, though by a curious coincidence it became so, by the death of Doctor Ezekiel Hopkins the day before the Battle of the Boyne; there, however, he fell, as above mentioned, the victim of his fanatical loyalty; he was buried near the church of his rectory of Donaghmore, where a monument to his memory was erected by his widow. One other instance of King William's gratitude, for service rendered to him on this day of his destiny, is recorded in the person of Toby or Theobald Mulloy, a captain of Dragoons, who, when the monarch's horse was shot under him, promptly averted the probable results of the crisis by substituting his own; the royal recollection of which incident is evinced in a letter from Secretary Southwell, dated at King's-Weston, in 1690, after King William's return from Holland, and the original of which is preserved in the Manuscripts of Trinity College. "Sir," writes Southwell to George Clarke, the King's Secretary of War in Ireland, "you will not be angry to know that I have the honour to entertain his Majesty at my house, after I had been with him one night at sea. He lies tomorrow at Badminton, and then hurries away for London. I hope you had what I enclosed you to my Lord Marlborough; I fear in that hurry I forgot to undersign it.

I entreat you to put my name thereto, if it be still in your hands; and this was the last command I had from his Majesty, that I should write to you his will and pleasure that Captain Mulloy have the first troop that falls in Colonel Wolseley's regiment. I am doing forty things at once, and therefore wonder not if I say nothing, but ever am, Sir, yours, &c.,

“ ROBERT SOUTHWELL.”

This Captain Mulloy lived to the year 1734, when he was buried in the church of Ardcarne, county Foscommon. Coote Mulloy, Esq., of Oakport, Deputy Lieutenant, and present High Sheriff of that county, deduces his very ancient line of pedigree directly through this gallant soldier. The other officers, who fell on William's side, were, according to tradition, buried about a mile from the town of Oldbridge, where there is a piece of quarry ground, and beside it now a lime kiln and a cabin, close to the Irish ramparts; it is said to have been then an osier garden. At several points of the battle field, which extended from the bridge of Slane nearly to Drogheda, many remains of earthworks, and other traces of military operations, are still to be seen.

The whole ground, indeed, on which the destinies of the three kingdoms were decided, where two kings in person contended for their dynasties and faith, throughout one long summer's day, and the royalty and hopes of the Stuarts were extinguished for ever, should be a scene of paramount interest to every individual in the British Empire. “ This view,” writes

Arthur Young, in his Tour of 1776, "from a rising ground which looks down upon it, is exceedingly beautiful, being one of the completest landscapes I have seen. It is a vale, losing itself in front between bold declivities, above which are some thick woods and distant country. Through the vale, a river winds, and forms an island, the point of which is tufted with trees in the prettiest manner imaginable; on the other side, a rich line of wood. To the right, on a rising ground on the banks of the river, is the obelisk, backed by a very bold declivity, to the foot of which I walked; it is founded on a rock that rises boldly from the river, and is a noble pillar, admirably placed. I seated myself on the opposite rock, and indulged the emotions which, with a melancholy not unpleasing, filled my bosom, while I reflected on the consequences that had sprung from the victory here obtained; liberty was then triumphant"(a)! And so should every lover of constitutional freedom respond, if that day of triumph, as it dissolved the empire of a race, infatuated, imbecile, and ungrateful, had introduced peace and toleration in Ireland; encouraged the industry, developed the resources, and won the allegiance of a chivalrous and long persecuted people; assimilated the laws, and associated the hearts of the sister countries; repressed their rivalries, and fostered their mutual interests; then, indeed, would it have been the triumph of liberty;

(a) Young's Tour, vol. i. p. 145.



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but the taunting orgies, with which the anniversaries of that battle have been celebrated, and more especially in the town which is the subject of the present history; the party excitements, amidst which bonfires were kindled, cannons fired, bells rung, flowers debased, and even the social board infuriated, were wholly unworthy of the great man, and the great principle that led in the revolution. Public opinion is, however, happily righting itself; and, it may be fearlessly asserted, that every hour, the moral and substantial union of the countries is deferred; every withholding of even and universal legislation through the empire, detracts from the peace of the one country, the revenue of the other, and the power and happiness of both.

It must not be omitted, that memorials of another character are also confidently produced, in testimony of the achievements of this day. In the Tholsel of Drogheda, as before mentioned, are preserved kettle-drums that were captured from James; in Townley Hall is the sword of the victorious monarch; and at Mr. Thompson's of Ravensdale, the lacerated and stained buff jerkin which he wore, when the ball grazed his shoulder.

It is also to be noted, that, consequent upon the coming of King William into Ireland and this victory of the Boyne, various medals were struck, of which, plates and descriptions are given in "*Histoire de Guillaume 3, par N. Chevalier.*" Of the former class, one represents a unicorn as bounding from

the sea shore over the sea, which is covered with transports; three frogs are represented as croaking, to deter the flight of the animal, who is, however, springing forward as not to be retarded: motto, "Non metam abjecta morantur," with, on the exergue, "Trajectus in Hiberniam, 1690;" on the reverse, Amsterdam is typed as a female, with a lion supporting a crowned shield and a sceptre at her front, and behind her a three-headed hydra vomiting flames: motto, "Quantum discriminis hic est;" on the exergue, "Amstla redux."—A second, with the same face, exhibits on the reverse the bust of King William, with all his titles.—A third has in front his bust, with the motto, "Gulielm. iii. D. G. Brit. Rex. Araus. Pr. Belg. Gub.," and on the reverse an eagle, descending from its flight over a sea covered with shipping, as about to rest on an island, which presents a city or town to receive him; the eagle bears in his beak an olive branch, and a branch of the orange tree with the fruit: motto, "Alis non armis," and on the exergue, "Trajectus in Hiberni. Lond. $\frac{4}{11}$ June, 1690."—A fourth gives the King's bust with his titles in front, and on the reverse appears Ireland, as a female figure, supplicating Jupiter and Neptune to relieve her from her sufferings. Jupiter holds the thunderbolt in his hand above, while Neptune, symbolical of King William, rises from the sea, Phoebus giddily careering between them, as hazarding the conflagration of the world: motto, "Nisi tu, quis temperet ignes?"—Of the class, commemorative of the battle of the

Boyne, the first has on the face, King William's bust, with the motto, "Gul. iii. M. Brit. R. de Jac. et Lud. triumph.;" on the reverse he appears, crossing the Boyne on horseback in front of his men, the Irish army with their cannon in disorder on the opposite bank: motto, "Et vulnera et invia spernit;" on the exergue, "Ejecit Jacobum, restituit Hiberniam, 1690."—Another only differs in the words inscribed round the bust, which give the King his full titles of government, "Guilh. iii. D. G. Mag. Bri. Fran. et Hib. Rex."—A third presents his bust, inscribed as on the last, while on the reverse, he appears careering on horseback in the foreground, after crossing the river, his army in full pursuit of the routed Irishry; James flying from the hill above, Lausun following him; the Duke Schomberg and Doctor Walker being represented at right of William, as borne dead from the field: motto, "Apparuit et dissipavit," and on the exergue, "Liberata Hibernia, 1690."—Another, with the same reverse as the last, while on the face, King William stands at full length, habited as a Roman, in front a tripod, on which is a censer of incense; Ireland kneels at his feet, resting her right hand on a shield, whereon the harp is inscribed; James flying before him; King William's left hand is on the tripod, while with his right he crowns Ireland with a cap of liberty: motto, "Focos servavit et aras," and on the exergue, "Expuls. Gal. et rebel. Dublin. triumphans intravit."—The bust of Schomberg fills the face of a fifth medal: motto, "Fredericus Mareschal-

cus Schomberg;" on the reverse, the full figure of that veteran, clad as a Roman, holding in his right hand a freshly planted scion, and standing beside a pyramid, round which are hung the armorials of France, the Empire, Portugal, Spain, and Ireland, being the nations where he had done service, and acquired his own honours: motto, "*Plantavit ubique feracem*;" on the exergue, "*Continuatis triumphis, obduratâ in Deum fide, in Hiber. militanti, 1690.*" Round the margin are the words, "*Pro religione et libertate mori vivere est.*"—Another to the King himself, gives his bust and full titles of government, as before, on the face, while on the reverse Minerva stands at full length, holding a spear in her right hand, and resting her left on the gorgon's-head buckler; behind her, the Irish army in rapid flight from Dublin, whose churches are seen in the back ground: motto, "*Victis ac fugatis Hibernis.*"—A seventh medal shows the King, with all his titles of government, in front; on the reverse, his full figure, presenting an olive branch to kneeling Ireland; behind him stands a figure of Fame, with a palm branch in one hand, and placing with the other a crown of laurels on the monarch's head: motto, "*Hibernia restituta*;" on the exergue, "*1690*;" and round the margin, "*Armis jungit amor nunc tertia regna duobus.*"—Another medal, with the same object, illustrates the flight of the ill-fated James, presenting his bust in the front: motto, "*Jacobus 2, Britan. Rex, Fugitiv.*;" on the reverse, a stag bounding in full

flight through mountains (alluding to the royal exile's flight through Wicklow): motto, "Pedibus timor addidit alas," and on the exergue, "Fugit ex Hiberniâ, 2 July, 1690." There is also a fine painting, commemorative of the battle, in that beautiful room of the present Bank of Ireland, which was formerly appropriated to the Irish House of Peers. It is executed on tapestry, by a Dutch artist, and is in tolerable preservation, representing the fight at the moment Schomberg was shot; but the scene was evidently never visited by the draftsman, and is utterly misconceived. The Duke is represented fallen from his horse, pale and bloody at the forehead, King William is immediately behind him, on horseback, and leading on his forces; in the near front is the church of Donore, and in the intermediate space the *melée* of the battle rages; in the distance, Drogheda is partly exhibited. At the centre, on the top of the tapestry, is worked a bust of King William, with the motto, "The Glorious Battle of the Boyne;" in the lower corners are figures of Fame blowing the trumpet, the figure at left being surmounted with a medallion representing the surrender of Drogheda, and above it another, the bust of Duke Schomberg; while the figure at right is similarly surmounted by a medallion, representing King William in the act of leading on the Enniskilleners, above which is another bust, that of General Ginkle, afterwards created Earl of Athlone. This is probably the view which Bryan, in his "Dictionary of Painters," speaks of, as drawn

by John Wyck, a distinguished artist of Haerlem. The opposite side of this noble room is similarly ornamented with a view of the siege of Derry.

The night after the battle, King William's troops lay on their arms at Duleek, and on the following morning, their King despatched Brigadier de la Melloniere, with 1000 horse and a party of foot, to summon this town, then defended by a garrison of 1500 men, under Lord Iveagh. According to his instructions, de la Melloniere informed the garrison, that on their hesitation, he should bring up his cannon, when they must expect no quarter. "If we gain the place," writes a correspondent at this crisis, "we expect great stores of all sorts, which are laid in there." After a parley, however, the garrison surrendered, on condition that they should be convoyed to Athlone, as the nearest fortified Irish town, and on these terms they marched out with their baggage, leaving behind them their arms, stores, and ammunition; or, as a pamphlet of the day sneeringly relates the occurrence, "the famed town of Drogheda, finding the late king's army was beaten from the very pass that should cover the town, on which account they could have little hopes of relief, has capitulated; the officers to go out with their swords only, and the common soldiers to go home with their hands in their pockets, leaving their arms behind them." Immediately after, Colonel Cutt's regiment took possession of the place, and preserved it from violence, while the second, afterwards styled the great, Duke of Or-

mond, was despatched with his uncle, Henry Lord Auverquerque, and nine troops of horse, to secure and take possession of Dublin. This nobleman, then but twenty-five years of age, was one of the first of the nobility that went over to King William, by whom he was constituted High Constable of England for the coronation.

A few extracts from a diary kept by Colonel Bellingham, an ancestor of Sir Alan, while serving under King William, and which is preserved in the possession of his family, may be not uninteresting in reference to the battle of the Boyne. " June 27th, 1690. Very hot. About two this morning I moved towards Dundalk, and entered it about six, with Lieutenant-General Holmes, and Major-General Kirke; the town was wholly desolate, but strongly fortified; no inhabitant left but Captain Bolton and his wife, who are both stript. Our army encamped about a mile south of Dundalk, being now entire, Doyle's party having joined ours. J. White and I went as far as Lurgan-race, and sate there some time, eating bread and cheese. The king resolved to attack the enemy this night, in their quarters, at Ardee, but, hearing by some dragoons, who were at the very gate, and killed two of their men there, that the enemy was retired, he put off his resolution. I waited on the king at supper, when he discoursed me most of the time, and was extremely pleasant and cheerful.—28th. Very hot. I waited on the king to Ardee; from thence was ordered by him to go with

Generals Ginkle and Gamboon, to view all the river for encamping. We went as far as Cappock-bridge, and so returned to our camp near Dundalk. I staid some time by the way at Gernonstown [the Colonel's estate, and afterwards called Castle Bellingham], and found several of the tenants, with their cattle, had stayed at home at my instance. The enemy are retired beyond the Boyne.—29th. Excessive hot. I was very early this morning with General Ginkle, who gave orders to Colonel Matthews, to let me have what dragoons I wanted for the security of my tenants or their cattle. I marched with Colonel Matthews, and came to Gernonstown about eight in the morning.—30th. Very hot. I called at Mr. Townley's on our march towards the Boyne. I was some time with the king on the hill of Tullagheshker, from which he viewed Drogheda, and then went towards Oldbridge. On the south side of the Boyne lay the enemy's camp, which the king going to view, he was hit by a cannon shot on the shoulder, which put us into the greatest consternation imaginable. The cannon fired at each other all the afternoon. We drew a great body of our horse up on the hill, in sight of the enemy. We fired several bombs, some of which did execution, and our cannon dismounted two of the enemy's batteries.—July 1st. A joyful day; excessive hot. About six this morning, the king got on horseback, and gave the necessary orders. General Kirke ordered me to bring him some account from the enemy. I brought him a youth, one Fyans,

who came that morning from Drogheda. I carried him to the king, who was then standing at the battery, seeing his cannon play at the house of Oldbridge. He had sent early a strong detachment of about 15,000 men, with Douglas, towards Slane, who passed the river without any opposition, and put the enemy to the rout who were on that wing; he sent another detachment of horse to the left, to go over at the mill ford, but, the tide coming in and the ford bad, the passage was very difficult, most of them being forced to swim, insomuch that they could not come up time enough to assist our foot, who went over the ford at Oldbridge. About eleven of the clock, the enemy had laid in ambush behind the ditches and houses on the other side of the water, who fired incessantly at our men as they were passing the river, who, as soon as they arrived on land, immediately put their musqueteers to the rout, and advanced farther into the field in battalion. Here the brave old Duke Schomberg was killed, and Doctor Walker and Colonel Caillemotte mortally wounded. The enemy advanced towards us, and made a brisk effort upon us, but we soon repelled them, with considerable loss on their side; they made two other attempts upon us, but were still bravely beaten back, and when our horse of the left came up, the enemy quite quitted that field, having left several dead bodies behind them. It was there we took Lieutenant-General Hamilton. The enemy's horse of Tyrconnel's regiment behaved themselves well; but our

Dutch, like angels. The king charged in person at the head of the Enniskilleners, and exposed himself with undaunted bravery. He pursued almost as far as the Naul, and left them not until near 10 o'clock at night. I was his guide back to Duleek. We killed about 2,000 of their men, besides Lords Carlingford, Dungan, and several other officers of note killed and taken prisoners. We lost not above 200 in the whole action, many of which were killed by our own men through mistake. I returned to the camp at Oldbridge, having left the king in his coach at Duleek, where he staid that night. I was almost faint for want of drink and meat."

How sadly contrasted with these results of triumph were the fortunes of the fallen James. Hurrying through Dublin to Waterford, and, causing the bridges on his course to be broken down behind him as he passed, he embarked at the latter port for France, and was in a few days a neglected exile, in the mimic Court of St. Germain's. Soon afterwards three hundred of the refugee Swiss and Germans, belonging to his French allies, deserted to William's army, while yet more of these allies, proceeding to Kinsale, embarked thence for the continent, and although Lausun, with the remainder, accompanied Tyrconnel and the Irish to Limerick, yet he also embarked thence for France; the Earl of Tyrconnel, however, sailed in his fleet thither, and on his arrival procured his disgrace by reason of his misconduct while in Ireland.

A letter of Sir Thomas Clarges, written on 28th May, 1691, to Secretary Clarke, thus alludes to this departure of Lausun and his forces, as well as to other topics of the day. "This is to acknowledge the favour of your's of the 20th instant. It is very unfortunate, that in a year, when we have the greatest and best provided fleet that ever was set forth in England, the landing of the succours from France could not be prevented; but I hope the success of this campaign will end the war, and make the French as weary of Ireland as they were after the battle of the Boyne, when Monsieur de Lausun, and his countrymen, left that kingdom as lost to them and their friends. Peter Birch is with the king in Flanders, where there are preparations for great actions, when there shall be forage on the ground. The Swedes, Danes, and Hanoverians have quitted the confederacy, but the Duke of Zell, brother to the last, is now in person with his troops with the king. On Sunday Doctor Tolleson, the Lord Elect of Canterbury, will be consecrated at Bow Church. We had news on Monday that my Lord of Lincoln was dead, and then Doctor Tennison was to succeed, whereupon I got the Queen for Doctor Birch to succeed to St. Martin's, which is granted. Yesterday advice came that the bishop is recovering, but whatever becomes of him, the character the Queen has received of him (Birch) will be of advantage."

On the 14th of October in the same year, an order issued from the Council Chamber of Dublin

Castle to said Secretary of War, in these words. "Upon a debate which happened this day at the Council Board, I am commanded by the Lords Justices and Council Board, to signify to you their Lordships' desire, that in order for public service you will forthwith cause two copies to be made of the several articles, upon the surrender of the places following, viz., Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, Kinsale, Galway, Bophin, Sligo, and the garrisons thereabouts, and Limerick, as also the prolongation of the times given by the General, upon the late proclamations of the Lords Justices, for the encouragement of the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to their Majesties' government. You are also desired, with the particulars aforesaid, to send one of his Majesty's proclamations, published when he went first to Kilkenny; and all the particulars aforesaid you are desired to send to their Lordships, as soon as conveniently you can"(a). The project for winter quarters, settled at this period, assigned to Drogheda one regiment of foot; to Dublin, two of foot and one of horse; to Belfast, one of foot; to Carrickfergus and Blackwater, one of foot; to the county of Down, two regiments of dragoons; to the barony of Glenarm, one of horse, &c.(b).

A dearth of provisions continuing in Drogheda, the corporation, in this year (1691), ordered that no innholder within the town should charge above four

(a) MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin.

(b) Id.

pence per night for hay, during twelve months from thenceforth; nor more than six-pence per peck for oats. They, about the same time, by a vote, reciting, that several of the inhabitants had left their dwellings to avoid, as it was supposed, the burden of quartering officers and soldiers, and other charges within the borough, directed that the Mayor and Sheriffs should equally assign the officers and soldiers on all the inhabitants, and that any person removing out of the town, and thereby expecting exemption, or refusing to bear their proportions, should thenceforth be debarred from any benefit or grant of any lease of any lands, and should also lose the benefit of their freedom. Consideration being likewise taken of the necessity of relieving the poor, it was ordered that certain persons named should inquire, what poor were fit to be suffered to beg, or continue in town; and to make such rules for their better ordering, from time to time, as should be deemed meet; and that the mayor should be empowered to applot such reasonable cess on the inhabitants, as might be absolutely necessary for the relief of the present sufferers, the Recorder's opinion being first taken on the legality of making a by-law for such a cess.

On the 19th of April, 1693, the Lord Lieutenant, Viscount Sydney, visited Drogheda. The following account of his entry and reception appears in the Dublin Intelligencer of that year, "April 19th. This day his Excellency, accompanied with several persons of quality, set out for Drogheda, and was

met a mile this side of the town by the Lord Drogheda, the Sheriffs of the city, and the militia county troop, who attended his Excellency to the gates of the town, where he was received by the Mayor, Governor and Aldermen, in all their formalities. At the entry of the gates the mayor made a speech, and delivered up the keys to his Excellency, who immediately returned them to him, who invited his Excellency to the Tholsel, where he was presented with his freedom in a gold box, and several of the gentlemen, who attended his Excellency, were likewise made free, after which he had a sumptuous entertainment. From thence his Excellency went to the Earl of Drogheda's, at Mellefont, where he lay that night, and on his return to Dublin, the day following, he dined at Colonel Coote's at Gormanstown."

From 1691 to 1696, the following persons of this town and its vicinity were on outlawries attainted, Christopher Bathe, Esq., John Bird, Oliver Bird, Andrew Bathe, James Bellew, and Walter Babe, merchants of Drogheda; Christopher Cheevers of Carn-town; John, Patrick, James and Robert Cheevers of same place; Robert Conly, merchant; Bryan M'Cabe, yeoman; Thomas Cullen, merchant; Thady Duff of Pilltown, county Meath; Henry Dowdall of Drogheda, Esq.; Christopher Dowdall, John Dowdall, and Robert Dermott, merchants of Drogheda; John, Lord Baron of Duleek; Patrick Dowdall, of Termonfeckin; Jenico Viscount Gormanston; Nicholas Gernon of Julianstown; Bartholomew Gernon, merchant of

Drogheda; Dominick Gwyre, clerk ; John Hamlin, merchant; Joseph Harne, clerk ; Hugh Johnston, otherwise Kelly, clerk ; Patrick Ley and John Ley, gentlemen , Richard Mortimer, gentleman ; Thady Maly, gentleman; Patrick Mahon, bookseller, all of Drogheda; Edward Morgan, Henry Mortimer, and William Mitchell of same, merchants; James and Terence Netterville of Dowth, gentlemen; Nicholas Lord Viscount Netterville of Dowth; Christopher Fitz George Peppard; Thomas Fitz George Peppard, Christopher Fitz Ignatius Peppard, and William Peppard, merchants; Andrew Peppard, clerk ; George Fitz Thomas Peppard, Christopher Fitz Thomas Peppard, and Ignatius Fitz Thomas Peppard, gentlemen; Randal Plunkett of Greenhills, gentleman; James Ray, gentleman; Bartholomew Skelly, merchant; Patrick Tyrrel, clerk; Stephen Tuite, surgeon; and John Tee-ling, clerk. The lands forfeited on this occasion in the county Louth and Drogheda, amounted to 22,508 acres, valued at £32,310. In direct reference to these attainders appears in the Parliamentary Papers, a petition of Folliott Sherigley to the Irish Parliament, praying that House to represent the service done by him, in securing the muster rolls and books of entry of the Irish army, after the rout at the Boyne (whereby the commanding officers who served in the Irish army were known to the Lord Lieutenant), as well meriting favour and patronage for the petitioner, and which petition was thereupon duly entertained.

In 1697, a return was ordered of all the seamen,

watermen, &c., in Ireland, when the statement, in reference to Drogheda, reported 22 seamen and 56 fishermen, making a total of 78, of which number 61 were described as "Papists;" and in the following year a census, of an ecclesiastical nature, states the number of Roman Catholic clergy resident in this town, as but two seculars and four regulars, great numbers of this class having been, as alleged, "shipt off," by Act of Parliament, their passage and provisions being paid for by the government. In the latter year (1698), when a supply of £120,000 was voted by Parliament to be assessed for the defence of the State, to be paid by four equal payments within two years, it was ordered that the county of Meath should pay £1460 to each such instalment: the county of Louth £520; and the town of Drogheda £110. The Commissioners for ascertaining the respective proportions in the former county were, amongst others, the Lord Moore, Sir Henry Tichburne, Sir John Dillon, William Napper, James Hamilton, of Tullymore, Garret Wesley, Doctor Molyneux, William Elwood, Samuel Jackson, Henry Coddington, Faustin Cuppaidge, Robert Smith, Hugh Morgan, John Keating, Doctor Stearne, &c. Amongst these appointed for the county of Louth were Sir Henry Tichburne, Sir Thomas Fortescue, Blaney Townley, Edward Singleton, John Smith, Henry Tenison, &c.; and for the town of Drogheda were the Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs, the Lord Moore, Sir Henry Tichburne, Edward Singleton,

Richard Jackson, Thomas Percival, William Elwood, Henry Nicholls, Richard Pitt, John Graham, Joseph Tomlinson, William Newton, James Mead, Henry Ogle, and George Hardman, Aldermen: Caleb Gay and John Leigh, Esquires.

Of the claims entered and prosecuted in 1702, at Chichester House in Dublin, on the occasion of demands and rights attaching upon the forfeited estates, the following connected with Drogheda, were established; Thomas Stoker, as Administrator of John Stoker, for a term of 31 years, from 1669, of a house in Peter-street, and a garden plot in Fair-street, forfeited by Christopher Cheevers,—John Curtis as assignee of a term for 61 years, from 1652, of a close and garden in Windhill-lane, forfeited by Nicholas Peppard; Anne Ley, as widow of John Ley, claimed dower of the town and lands of Portlester, a house in Deer-street, &c., forfeited by Patrick Ley. Mary Peppard, by Nicholas Peppard, her husband, for a jointure to herself, and a remainder in tail to her right heirs, of several messuages in this town, and other premises forfeited by Nicholas Peppard. Robert Conly, as mortgagee of two houses in Shop-street, and an orchard near St. Peter's church, forfeited by the said Nicholas Peppard. Christian Newton, on behalf of herself and three infant children claimed the residue of certain terms of 41 years, in two houses in Peter-street, forfeited by Christopher Cheevers. Henry Earl of Drogheda, for £600, the penalty of a Statute secured upon a house in Deer-

street, called the Blue Boar's Head, and other houses forfeited by Christopher Peppard. Christopher Peppard St. George, for a residue of a term of thirty-one years, from 1684, of eight acres, parcel of the dissolved Hospital of St. James, and other lands within the liberties of Drogheda, forfeited by Christopher Cheevers. Gregory Ward, for the remainder of a term of 31 years, from 1687, of "a pair of walls on the Bull ring in Drogheda," forfeited by Christopher Peppard Fitz Ignatius. James Bathe a minor, by his guardian, Stephen Bathe, claimed an estate for life to himself, and certain remainders in tail male to his issue, in the town and lands of Lady-Rath, Cashel, two tenements in Slane, and several tenements in Drogheda, forfeited by Christopher Bathe.

In 1703, as appears by the Book of Postings and Sales of the Forfeited Estates, the chief purchasers within Drogheda and its liberties were Aldermen Henry Ogle, John Graham and Thomas Stoker, Mr. Newton, Mr. Robert Curtis of Dublin, Mr. Charles Campbell of the same, and Mr. Thomas Bellew of the same. Accordingly the following grants appear of record in the Rolls of Chancery. To Alderman Henry Ogle, all that piece of ground called Mattock's Park, 7A. 1R. within the liberties, consideration, £57 13s., annual rent 6*d*. To Alderman John Graham, a stone slated house, and garden, a thatched tenement and garden, two thatched cabins, and a park with a garden, three other houses and gardens; consideration, £211 5*s*. and annual rent, 7*s*. 6*d*.

To Alderman Thomas Stoker, two houses, with a horse-mill and garden adjoining, consideration, £74, annual rent, 1s. To John Newton, the town and lands of Carnaghtown, Ballymakenny, and Succlets-hamlets, 539A., consideration, £2015, annual rent, 1s. To Robert Curtis, three small parks near Sunday's gate, containing 10A. 3R., purchase money, £166. To Charles Campbell, "eight acres of arable land within the dissolved hospital of St. James's, bounding on the east, west, and north to the lands of St. James, and south to the road; ten acres of pasture and furze on the mountains of St. James's, so anciently called, bounding north and east to Taylor of Swords's lands, south to Fisher's Batter, and west to the town lands; three acres of rough meadow, near the causeway leading to Dublin, bounding east and north to said causeway, west to the town grounds, and south to said Taylor's lands; a park westward of Yellow Batter, 4A.;" total, 25A., consideration, £199, annual rent, 2s. The last mentioned patentee had also a grant of a house, garden, and rear in Deer-street, called the Blue Boar's Head; a house, garden, court, and rear, on the south quay, or south side of the river; a house and rear on the Bull ring, near Beamore bog, 16A., consideration, £30, total annual rent, 6d. He also passed patent for a house in Shop-street, alias Booth-street, bounding north to the Tholsel, east to Shop-street, and west to Brandon's lands; a parcel of ground, with a garden and two cabins thereon, bounding west to St. Peter's church-

yard, north to Peppard's land, east to the town lands, and south to a lane leading from Pillory-street to the town wall; another house in Shop-street, south of the first mentioned house, bounded north therewith, west with the town grounds, south with Robert Hardman's house, and east with Shop-street, purchase money, £10; and lastly, the aforesaid Thomas Bellew passed patent for a tenement and garden plot, within the town wall near Butter gate, purchase money, £25.

In 1704, the Assembly voted, that the Duke of Ormond should be entertained in "the Queen's Chamber, within the Tholsel," at the charge of the corporation, and the freedom of the town presented to him in a gold box. In the following year the same body passed a resolution, that, whenever Mr. Rochfort would resign the Recordership, "Mr. Henry Singleton (son of Alderman Edward Singleton), who is now a student at the law in the Inner Temple, London, shall succeed him in the Recordership of this corporation." [This distinguished individual was, in 1725, appointed Prime Serjeant, and, on the removal of Sir James Reynolds, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, to the English Bench, as puisne Baron of the Exchequer, in 1739, was promoted to the Chief Justiceship so vacated. In 1740, in consequence of his services in advising and constructing by-laws for regulating the corporation of Derry, the Irish Society ordered a valuable piece of plate to be presented to him, but he wholly declined

its acceptance. In 1753, he was appointed Master of the Rolls, and, during all his career, passed every interval, that was not officially engaged in Dublin, at Drogheda, where he had a fine residence on a plot of ground north of Fair-street. He died, however, in Dublin, in 1759, and was buried in the ancient burial ground at Glasnevin].

In 1706, the Assembly voted an address to her Majesty on the successes of the Duke of Marlborough. In two years afterwards Dean Cox acquainted the Assembly, that one Fleming, a Presbyterian minister, had preached in their town, and desired to know, if he had any invitation or authority for so doing, when it was unanimously declared that he had none, which, on being sent for, Mr. Fleming admitted, only averring that he was sent thither by the Presbytery of Armagh, of which he was chairman; whereupon, at a general session of the peace held soon after, before the Mayor and other magistrates and justices, the following presentment was made: "Whereas the Protestant inhabitants of the ancient and loyal town of Drogheda have lived in peace and unity among themselves, and in a unanimous obedience to the Church of Ireland, by law established, without the least appearance of dissension, and have so continued ever since the late happy revolution and reduction of this kingdom, accomplished by the unparalleled courage and conduct of his late Majesty, King William, of glorious memory; and whereas the said town of Drogheda hath been constantly supplied with a very

learned orthodox ministry, having at present a very reverend and learned minister, and two assistants, curates, who have hitherto preserved the Protestant inhabitants of the said town of Drogheda in the same unity and conformity to the said Established Church, by their residence, and a faithful discharge of their duty, in preaching twice every Sunday, in reading public prayers morning and evening early, in administering the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper monthly, in catechising children, and duly performing all other religious offices; and whereas the northern Presbytery of Ireland, not content with the gracious indulgence and bounty of our most gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Anne, extended to them, have within this month past sent out missionaries to frame and set up a conventicle in this town of Drogheda aforesaid, to disturb the peace and quiet of the Protestant inhabitants of the said town, where there hath been no such meddling near these 28 years past, and do bring strangers out of the north of Ireland, and from other parts of the country many miles distant from this town, to countenance the setting up of the said conventicle in this said town of Drogheda, and to make proselytes, and seduce the poor ignorant sort of people from their adherence to the Established Church of Ireland, and conformity to her Majesty's laws; we, the Grand Jury of the county of the town of Drogheda aforesaid, duly impanelled and sworn, having taken into our consideration the proceedings of the said northern Presbytery, and their missionaries in the town of Drogheda

aforesaid, do present and declare that there is no occasion for such meetings in this town of Drogheda aforesaid, there not being any of their persuasion in this town, but such as the said missionaries bring to meet them from other places, or some few inconsiderable proselytes they have lately made, and those for the most part very scandalous; and that the permitting such a meeting in the said town, will only tend to create faction, schism, and disunion among the Protestant inhabitants of said town; therefore, we do present and desire, that the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Drogheda aforesaid, and other the magistrates of said town, will discourage and discountenance such meetings or conventicles, by putting the laws in execution." And, under the sanction of this presentment, and on the certificate of the Primate, the Mayor committed Mr. Biggs, a Presbyterian minister, to prison. Dean Swift, alluding to this occurrence, wrote to Archbishop King: "The affair of Drogheda has made a noise here, and, like every thing else on your side, is used as a handle. I have had it run in my ears from certain persons. I hope you are prepared to take off the sacramental test, because that will be a means to have it taken off here among us; and that the clergy will be for it in consideration of the Queen's bounty; and that men in employment will be so wise as to please the Court and secure themselves; but to think there is any design of bringing the Scotch into offices, is a mere scandal."

By vote of the Assembly, in 1709, in consideration of the advantages this town has had, by the foundation of a school, settled therein by Erasmus Smith, Esq., deceased, it was ordered, that Samuel Smith, son and heir of said Erasmus, and Hugh Smith, another of his sons, being both then in the town, should be presented with the freedom of the corporation, and they were accordingly admitted. In August, 1712, the Body voted an address to the Queen, in favour and approval of the government of the Duke of Ormond, and, on the 30th of March following, resolved that His Excellency Sir Constantine Phipps, should be presented with the freedom in a gold box, and entertained in the Tholsel. In October, 1715, they directed, that a constable and fourteen Protestants should mount guard with firelocks every night, and that the bye-watches without the gates should appoint the guard at eight o'clock p. m., and take such orders as the mayor would direct; and that all Papists should hire Protestants to mount the town-guard, on pain of being distrained for their neglect, and the Assembly should indemnify the mayor in so distraining them; and in May, 1718, they passed their resolution, that for the future, the constable of the night should lock all the bye-gates at 10, and the West-gate, and Dublin gate, at 12 o'clock. It appears by a Return of the Commissioners of Array to Parliament, that the military force, at this time in Drogheda, consisted of one independent troop of dragoons, and two independent companies of foot.

About this time, Henry Jones, a poetical and dramatic writer of some repute, was born at Bewly near this town. In a little History of Drogheda, published by a Mr. Johnston in 1826, it is mentioned, that the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, having resided part of his time at Bewly, extended very liberal encouragement to this person, who theretofore laboured in the humble occupation of a bricklayer. The Earl soon became acquainted with his talents as a poet, and took him into patronage, and even, it is said, not only volunteered to correct his tragedy of "The Earl of Essex," and prevailed upon the managers of Covent-Garden to bring it out on the stage, but likewise shared his purse with him. Jones frequently dined with the Earl, and was at last taken into his house as a companion. He encouraged him to go up to Dublin, and afterwards brought him with him to England, where he continued to befriend him. Prior to taking leave of his native place, Jones addressed a poetical epistle to the corporation, giving them some advice for the better regulation of the town, which they thought right to adopt, and rewarded him with a present of twenty pounds. This unfortunate individual, however, regardless of ordinary economy, after experiencing many reverses of fortune, which his own imprudence brought upon him, died in a London workhouse in 1770. Another more celebrated individual, Laurence Sterne, who was born in 1713, passed, as appears from his letters,

a short period of his childhood here, whence his father and family removed to Mullingar.

In 1720, the corporation granted to the Primate certain premises within the town, as an accommodation to his archiepiscopal residence; but, although Armagh has been resumed as the head of the See, and the Primates have long ceased to reside, or hold any visitations at Drogheda, the property has not been restored to the corporation, and is still held as under the Archbishops of Armagh. In this year was born, in Drogheda, Ackland Kane, a celebrated harper. "His love of adventure early led him to Rome, where he played before the Pretender, then resident there; he afterwards travelled into France and Spain, where the Irish, of whom there were at that time a great number residing at Madrid, patronized him very liberally, and introduced him to the notice of his Catholic Majesty, who is said to have contemplated settling a pension on him. Kane's preferment was, however, marred by his own indiscretions, and, after exhausting the patronage of his countrymen at the Spanish Court, he was obliged to set out for Bilboa, on his way home, on foot, and carrying his harp on his back. He is described as a very strong, tall, and athletic man, and is asserted to have outstripped the post on this journey, which may appear the less extraordinary, when the state of the roads in Spain at the time is considered. He does not appear to have spent much time in Ireland, for we find him very famous throughout Scotland

for a long period before his death, which occurred some time about the year 1790. His chief haunts in Scotland were about Blair-Athol and Dunkeld, but he was also widely known throughout the Lowlands and Isles. In a tour through the Isles, in 1775, he was at Lord Mac Donald's of Skye, where he recommended himself so much by his performances, that Lord Mac Donald presented him with a silver harp key, that had long been in the family. Ackland does not appear, however, to have been always so successful in recommending himself to the good offices of his patrons, for Mr. Gunn relates of him, that the highland gentry occasionally found it necessary to repress his turbulence, by cutting his nails, and so rendering him unable to play till they grew again to their proper length. Mr. Gunn states, that he was often spoken of by Manini, at Cambridge, with rapture, as being able, though blind, to play with accuracy and fine effect, the treble and bass parts of many of Correlli's correntos, in concert with other music. Had he been but moderately correct in his conduct, Ackland Kane might, unquestionably, have raised the character of the wandering minstrel higher than it had stood for a century before"(a).

The first stone bridge was erected here in 1723, and in the following year night lamps were introduced in the streets, the mayor directing that a number of them should be fixed up at the corporate ex-

(a) Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland.

pense, in such places as he would assign as most convenient. In 1725, the Assembly ordered, that the Lord Lieutenant should be treated in the king's chamber at the Tholsel, and the freedom presented to him in a gold box; and in two years afterwards, they paid a similar compliment of the freedom, with a costly entertainment, to the Primate, Doctor Boulter. In 1729, the estates of Alderman William Graham in this town and vicinity, were the subject of an English (private) Act of Parliament, whereby provisions were made for facilitating their improvement, and these were confirmed, with amendments, by another private English Act in 1743. [This gentleman resided chiefly at Platten; was Member of Parliament for Drogheda, from 1727 to the time of his death, and a privy councillor; in 1729 he married a daughter of Lord Lansdown, and died in 1748].

The produce of the excise here, which, for the year 1700, was returned as £2699, was stated to Parliament as but £1878 for the year 1730. At the close of 1731, the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant, was entertained, in his progress through the town, at the Tholsel, by the corporation, who, on that occasion, granted to him the freedom of the town, in a gold box. At the Spring Assizes held for the town and county of Drogheda in 1743, the Grand Jury presented five persons, all then, or late of Westgateward without, as regulars, or reputed regular friars of the Dominican order; five others, all then or late of Bachelor's-lane, as regulars, or reputed regular

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friars of the Augustinian order; and four, then or late of Broadstone-well, as regulars, or reputed regular friars of the Franciscan order. In 1745, the inspectors of barracks informed Parliament, that a sum of £314 was required for the repair of the barracks here, which were in a very ruinous condition, by reason that the barrack-master, Cuthbert Brown, resided in England, acting by deputy; and that so great favour had been shown to him, that one surety was accepted for him, a resident of England, and who executed his bond at the place of his residence. In 1749, the map of the town, of which the annexed is an engraving, was drawn by Ravel. The fortifications and walls of Drogheda appear to have been then supported by eleven towers or castles on the Louth side, and seven on the Meath side, but no names are identified with those towers, except in the instance of three, Pigeon Tower, Taylor's Hall, and Shooting Tower, corruptly called Tooting Tower, and the castles that guarded the respective gates. The public buildings and places of interest are pointed out through the marginal references.

In 1756, the corporation, in consequence of a prevalent scarcity, voted £1000 for the purchase of oatmeal, to be retailed in small quantities to the poor, when the market price was too high for them to buy at. The former Recorder, the Right Honourable Henry Singleton, then Master of the Rolls, also lent another £1000 for the same purpose. De Burgo gives a list of the Dominican friars at this time residing in Drogh-

eda, as follows: Eugene Lennon, prior; Dominick Mac Mahon, sub-prior; Thomas Netterville, John Byrne, Vincent Meany, James Hall, Walter Morilly, and John Egan. He also names the nuns of the Sienna, as, Elizabeth de Burgo (daughter of Viscount Mayo), prioress; Maria O'Kelly, sub-prioress; Alicia Rice, Rose O'Ferrall, Catherine Cruise, Barbara Esmond, Margaret O'Reilly, Sarah Dillon, Maria O'Daly, Maria O'Reilly, Catherine O'Reilly, Sarah O'Kelly, Eleanor Keating, Catherine O'Kelly, Maria Allen, Maria O'Donnellan, Alicia O'Kelly, Johanna Purcel, Maria Nugent, Maria French, Elizabeth O'Kelly, Maria Mac Egan, Maria Kirwan, Susanna Berford, Anne Blake, Eleanor Fottrel, Margaret Horish, and Maria Maguire.

The Dublin Gazette of May, 1761, notices, that "on Thursday last, the liberties and franchises of the town of Drogheda, were ridden and perambulated in a very grand manner, the different corporations vieing with each other in the elegance of their appearance." In 1763, the merchants of this port petitioned for an aid in favour of the linen manufactures, and for the intervention of Parliament in redressing certain abuses in the butter trade of the town, which was then considerably on the increase. In the following year, the old Tholsel was taken down. In 1766, the first measures were taken in Parliament, for regulating the Watch in Drogheda; while its Annals, in 1767, relate a memorable riot which took place in its streets, in consequence of the

mob rising to prevent the exportation of cattle to England; a considerable number of bullocks and cows were then blindly sacrificed to their rage. About this time lived here, O'Dornan, an excellent Irish scholar, of whom Mr. Wills makes mention in his "Lives of Illustrious Irishmen," as having been once the possessor of the celebrated Book of Ballymote. This very interesting Manuscript, is a large vellum folio volume of 548 pages, which, in 1522, was purchased by Hugh Dhu O'Donnel, for 140 milch cows, and after various intermediate transmissions, is now the property of the Royal Irish Academy.

In 1770, the Assembly ordered, "that the salary of Benjamin Rencher, as musician to this corporation, should be augmented from five to eight guineas *per annum*, he supplying a proper band of music, to attend the corporation on the usual days during pleasure. In three years afterwards, Edward Caldwell, a merchant of the town, preferred a petition to Parliament, setting forth, "that, it having been for some years past the general sense of the principal inhabitants thereof, and of the gentlemen who reside near it, that the flesh market of said town was situated in a very inconvenient place, the same being in the open street, which is the great thoroughfare from Dublin to the north of Ireland, the petitioner, being encouraged by said gentlemen and by the principal butchers of said town, did in the previous year contract for a large and commodious piece of ground, at the yearly rent of £65, whereon the petitioner has,

at an expence of £1000 and upwards, erected and built a complete set of stalls and shambles, but that, notwithstanding such expenditure, the butchers, instigated by the shopkeepers and other inhabitants, who reside in the street where the market had been theretofore held, decline to resort to petitioner's market, and persist in exposing their meat in the open street, to the great annoyance of passengers; and petitioner prayed relief, the justice and manner of affording which were referred to a committee of the House. In the same year (1773), Earl Harcourt, being Lord Lieutenant, visited the town, was entertained with the usual state, and presented with the freedom.

In 1774, certain persons were empowered "to purchase the hull of a large Dutch vessel, then lately wrecked in the harbour, for the purpose of sinking it in a proper part of the river, by way of a pier head, and in order to help in deepening the channel thereof." In 1775 the Assembly ordered that Messrs Joseph Harpur, William Cheapem, and James Petrie, surgeons, should receive from the corporate funds the sum of ten guineas each for their care and attendance on the poor of the town, and at the same period directed a petition to be forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant, stating "that there had been a tower called Maiden Tower, standing on the shore near the bar, at the mouth of the river Boyne, below high water mark, within the jurisdiction of the county of the town of Drogheda, and also one other small tower, nearly adjoining the

said Maiden Tower, above high water mark, which towers are of singular service to mariners who navigate vessels bound to the port of Drogheda, and also to all others coming from the northward, who are bound to the port of Dublin;" and the petitioners stated, "that same were now much out of repair and became less conspicuous, and consequently less serviceable than they used to be, the bright colouring of the same being worn off, and scarcely to be discovered by mariners; that they had lately employed persons to repair said towers, but were obstructed by James Brabazon, tenant to Lord Mornington, whose estate is contiguous to said towers, and said Brabazon represents he is instructed to prevent their doing this public service, and they prayed his Excellency in right of the royal prerogative for repairing beacons, towers, and other land marks, to make order in the premises."

In 1777, the corporation directed that a town clock and bell should be put up by the Mayor at the Mayoralty House, and in the same year the freedom of the town was presented to Lord Brabazon for his patriotic services. In 1779, by a vote of the Assembly, it was directed that one hundred firelocks, with accoutrements, should be provided by the corporation for the Protestant inhabitants, if they could not be obtained from government gratis. Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* of May, 1780, gives a notice of another riot here, that, as characteristic of the state of the times, seems worthy of insertion. "This

evening has furnished a most horrid deed to relate, no less than five of our townsmen's corpses are now lying in the Tholsel, from the army firing on the populace. What gave rise to the above was trifling, only a little dispute that was agitated about two men enlisting. One of the persons killed proves, fatally, to have been Mr. Woodhouse, a most deserving and respectable character, and a member of our volunteer association; there were also three people wounded. The volunteers immediately got under arms, and application was made to the commanding officer at the barracks, for the rioters, whom he ordered to be given up directly. They are now in gaol, double bolted, and the volunteers have mounted guard for fear of a rescue." In 1782, the Drogheda Association of that body, by an unanimous resolution, testified their approval of those of the Ulster Delegates then lately passed at Dungannon, and in 1787, the corporation granted to the dissenting Protestants a piece of ground in the old Abbey, near Patrick's Well-lane, for 999 years, at a nominal rent, with the object of their building a house of worship thereon. In the same year they entertained the Duke of Rutland with the usual honours, and the freedom of their borough; and in the following the franchises of the borough were again perambulated, amidst an immense concourse of spectators.

In 1789, this town attracted the especial attention of Parliament, which directed various accounts to be taken, and reports made relative to its condi-

tion and mercantile importance. Amongst these were accounts of the quantity of coal and culm imported thither within the last ten years, the quantity of corn sold in the market in the same interval; the produce of the tolls and customs for the last year; the tonnage of the ships and other vessels, which had in that year arrived in, or sailed out of the port, &c. In the June of the same year, when a quantity of muskets and bayonets was despatched from the ordnance stores in Dublin, for the use of the 46th regiment of foot, then quartered in Newry, they were, about a mile and a half from this town, surrounded by a number of people, who seized and broke open the chest in which the arms were packed, and carried off the whole consignment. In 1790, the centenary of the battle of the Boyne was celebrated here with much ceremony; the commemoration lasted a week, every gentleman of the town and vicinity contributing to defray the expenses of superb processions, fire works, assemblies, an open theatre, and liberal hospitality. An indifferent room in the main street was generally let at ten guineas during the exhibition. Immediately afterwards, a meeting of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the town was convened, to elect representative Delegates for the general Committee in Dublin, whereof Hugh Hamill, William Bellew, and Malachy O'Connor, were requested to accept the trust. In 1791, with creditable feelings, the corporation resolved unanimously that the freedom of their body should be granted "to the Reve-

rend Doctor Francis Moylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, in a fiat, with a silver box, as a mark of our esteem for his pious exertions and excellent exhortations to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of his diocese, for promoting peace and good order at the moment of threatened invasion." In the same year Mr. Pentland, Surveyor of Excise in this district, was most inhumanly and wilfully murdered within the town.

In 1792, the Assembly instructed their representatives, "that they should, to the utmost of their power, preserve those laws inviolate, by which Protestant ascendancy had been preserved and supported in this kingdom, and oppose any attempt to alter the same, or to destroy that repose and tranquillity under which we have so long lived and prospered." In 1797, the Loyal Drogheda Cavalry was embodied, Ralph Smith, Esq., being selected captain, as was the Loyal Drogheda Infantry, Charles Evans, Esq., to be captain, and W. O. Fairtlough and Launcelot Fisher, Esqs., lieutenants. Several of the inhabitants also formed themselves into a corps of volunteers. In the disastrous year that succeeded, when a military guard was kept in the Tholsel, the records of the corporation suffered considerably by an accidental fire that broke out there. It appears, however, creditable to the loyalty of the town, that at the two Assizes of 1799, the number of felons arraigned was but seventeen, of whom one only was tried for sedition, and discharged.

Early in 1799, Mr. John Ball, then representative for this town, addressed his constituents on the then all-absorbing question of the Union; "a subject," he writes, "the most awful and momentous that ever roused the attention, or demanded the interference of a free people. An intention is now avowed on the part of government, to demand from the Irish nation a perpetual surrender of its independence, and to transfer to the Parliament of Great Britain the legislative authority of this country. . . . For my own part, feeling as I do, that you have placed me in Parliament as trustee and temporary guardian of your rights, I cannot adopt such a refinement of political sophistry, as would authorize me to annihilate and extinguish for ever that power, which you have delegated to me but for a limited period, nor shall any thing short of your positive and express commands induce me to alienate or abandon that original and inherent privilege, which Ireland enjoys in common with every free nation, of being governed by its own laws, and taxed only by its own Parliament, a privilege for which other countries have fought and bled, and which has at all times been considered as the criterion and very essence of liberty. If you are unwilling to relinquish this invaluable privilege; if you do not wish to submit your property to the taxation of a foreign Parliament, your trade and manufactures to the regulation and control of a rival power; if, in short, you do not desire to hold your freedom, your property, the fruits of your industry, and the advan-

tages of your increasing commerce, by the precarious tenure of English bounty, or English gratitude, let me exhort you to stand forward at the present crisis. Exert that energy which belongs to you as a free, an opulent, and a commercial town; proclaim your opinion as other great bodies in the kingdom have done, and give weight and efficacy to the feeble voice of your representative, by the sanction of your authority."

In a week after this address, at a numerous meeting of the freemen and freeholders of this town, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

That the Irish Parliament is not competent to enact any measure, which has for its basis the subversion of the constitution of Ireland.

That to be governed by our own laws, and taxed by our own legislature, is our dearest right, and the essence of our constitution.

That, in the increased prosperity of Ireland since 1782, we have a convincing proof of the advantage of that system, which combines Irish independence with British connexion.

That to exchange a system, whose excellence we have experienced, for speculative and uncertain advantages, would be absurd, dangerous, and unworthy of a rational and free nation.

That from a recollection of the past we look with abhorrence on a measure, which goes to lay again the interests of Ireland, at the mercy of a British Parliament.

That a legislative union must be inexpedient, and undesirable for Ireland for ever. A vote of thanks to Mr. Ball concludes the resolutions, which are signed by the Sheriffs, Beaver Van Homrigh, and John Tandy.

In 1800, when it was moved in the Assembly, that Earl Cornwallis, as Lord Lieutenant, should receive the usual corporate honours, his freedom was, on ballot, refused; and, on the 16th of April in that year, the same Body voted a very strong form of petition against the Union, wherein, after expressing their "most unalterable attachment to the present free and invaluable constitution, established at the memorable period of 1782, under which constitution the kingdom has advanced in prosperity, with a rapidity unexampled in the history of nations;" they avowed "their most heartfelt concern that the measure of an incorporate legislative union," which had been rejected in the last session, "should be again brought forward by his Majesty's ministers, contrary to the almost unanimous sentiments of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, a measure which petitioners conceive to be fraught with inevitable ruin to the trade and manufactures of Ireland, by depriving them of a protection of a superintending resident Parliament, and placing them at the discretion of a foreign legislature, where their true interests have never been, and probably never can be, understood; and where, in any question of competition that may arise between the two countries, their interests

will sink under the weight of superior numbers; that petitioners will be essentially injured by the measure, inasmuch as by their chartered rights they are entitled to send two members to a resident Parliament, and which rights are to be exchanged, by the proposed union, for the useless privilege of sending one member to a distant and external Parliament; that they observed with grief the flagrant and unconstitutional measures, to which ministers have resorted to procure a majority in Parliament in support of their ruinous and fatal measure, the gross misrepresentation by which they have led your Majesty to conceive, that the sentiments of your Majesty's faithful subjects, in this kingdom, have been favourable to the project, when it is notorious, that, in proportion as the terms of the purposed union have been detailed, the alarm and agitation of the public mind have become more conspicuous. That petitioners are distinguished for their loyalty, zeal, and ardour, in support of your Majesty's government, and are prepared to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of Irish independence and British connexion; and they cannot conceive any one measure, more likely to counteract the blessings they enjoyed under that independence and that connexion, than an incorporated union of the two kingdoms, the tendency of which must be, in their humble opinion,—separation, the avowed object of their enemies, both foreign and domestic."

In 1802, the franchises were again perambulated,

the corporation granting five pounds to each chartered guild, towards defraying their quota of the expenses. In three years afterwards, however, this triennial holyday was suppressed, as too frequently promoting "riot, drunkenness, and certain distress amongst the lower order of the people." In the latter year (1805), the Assembly voted an address to the king on the victory of Trafalgar. In 1806, they ordered fifty guineas to be paid, as the corporation plate, for Bellewstown races, and voted a like sum annually, towards the purchase of a cup to be there run for. In 1820, they recommended their Recorder, Peter Van Homrigh, to the especial consideration of his Excellency, by reason of his constant and able discharge of his duties.

In 1830 died John Henry North, Esq., Member of Parliament for this town. He had been a very distinguished scion of Trinity College, Dublin, and no less signalized himself by his eloquence at the Irish bar, to which he was called at the early age of 21. In 1825, he was brought into Parliament as member for Milbourne Port, under the auspices of Mr. Canning, of whose policy he was an ardent supporter. In 1830, he was elected representative for Drogheda (the number of the electors being then 1130), and was appointed Judge of the Irish Admiralty Court by the Duke of Wellington, on the removal of Sir Jonah Barrington. His speeches resembled high wrought academic effusions, stately and

chaste, but with little of that living ardour which characterizes Irish oratory, perhaps to a fault.

It but remains to mention, in the chronological order of these Annals, that the propriety of throwing a second bridge over the Boyne, at the end of Stockwell-lane, was much discussed in 1838, and in 1839, the Drogheda, Meath, and Louth Farming Society was established here, while the town was yet more recently signalized by being the locality, where, on the requisition of the reformed corporation, and many of the inhabitants of the town and vicinage, and after a triumphal procession from the bridge of Julianstown into the town, waving, as it then was, with flags and wreaths of flowers, O'Connell addressed a multitude of upwards of 60,000, on the present absorbing question of the Repeal of that Union, which in its conception this town had so vigorously opposed. The present state of Drogheda, and its great improvement and extension, may be judged from the annexed engraved section of the Ordnance Survey, and a comparison thereof with the maps of its earlier aspect.

ENVIRONS OF DROGHEDA.

BALLYMAKENNY.

As this locality, although partly situated in the barony of Ferrard and county of Louth, is chiefly within the liberties of Drogheda, it is, therefore, entitled to the earliest notice in this section of the work. The parish, to which it gives name, lies on the road from Drogheda to the bathing village of Anagassan, and comprises, according to the Ordnance Survey, 1581 statute acres, of middling quality, without common, woodland, waste, or bog; of these, 848 are within the Liberties; the total population is 499 persons, of whom 400 are reported to be of the labouring class. The benefice ranks as a perpetual curacy in the diocese of Armagh, erected in 1785, and in the patronage of the Primate, in whom the rectory is also appropriate, but from which the present prelate derives no income, the rent-charge and revenue being wholly assigned by him to the curate. The church, which stands about two miles and an half north of Drogheda, is a handsome edifice, capable of accom-

modating about 150 persons. It was originally erected by Primate Robinson, and has been lately repaired by a grant from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. There are no monuments within it, and but two worthy of notice in the graveyard, one being to the memory of Christopher Cheevers, the old proprietor of Carntown Castle, who died in 1687, and the other, a joint tombstone to the memory of the Rev. James Reid, parish priest of Termonfeckin, who died in 1815; the Rev. Richard Trenor, pastor of the Roman Catholic Union of Disert; and the Rev. Patrick Murphy, parish priest of Haggardstown, who died in 1831. Near the church is the glebe house, surrounded by a glebe of twenty-two acres, plantation measure; and near it is a national school, at present attended by about ninety boys and thirty girls.

In 1422, the king committed to the custody of Richard Rede, one messuage and a carucate of land in Ballug; one messuage and two carucates of land in Dysert; one messuage and a carucate in Ballymakenny; one messuage and a carucate in Philipstown-Kenveck; forty acres in Stone House of Moylary; one messuage and a carucate in Tully-escar, &c., to hold same while vested in the Crown, the said Rede rendering, however, the true value therefor. In 1613, King James granted the rectory and tithes of Ballymakenny to the Archbishop of Armagh and his successors, whose title thereto, *inter alia*, was distinctly found by inquisition taken in 1621. A return, which was made in 1622, of the "State of the

Benefices of Ulster," mentions, in relation to Ballymakenny: "Item. Edmund Morgan, gentleman, holdeth for sixty years the rectory of Ballymakenny, being bound to pay 6s. 8d. for a heriot, and said Edmund is to repair and maintain the edifices and buildings of the said rectory, and also that portion of the parish church of Ballymakenny, as the parson, minister, or rector of the said parish church ought to do;" the rent to which this Morgan was then subject, was £4 10s. annually. At the time when O'Neill besieged Drogheda, Ballymakenny was occupied by his adherents, and, in the confiscations consequent upon that civil war, the forfeiting proprietors in this parish were Adam Moore of Drogheda, to the extent of 157 acres of Tullyesker (which were afterwards granted to Erasmus Smith), and William Plunkett, eighty-one acres of Cottrelstown, which passed to Sir William Tichburne. Of the lands, that were afterwards forfeited within the parish under similar circumstances in the war of 1689, and sold by the trustees, maps are preserved in the office of the Vice-Treasurer. In 1748, the Archbishop demised the parsonage, rectory, and tithes of Ballymakenny to Brabazon Eccleston; and in 1785, the parish was erected into a perpetual cure, immediately after which, the glebe-house was built, at an expense of £668 British.

Partly within this parish, and partly in that of St. Peter's of Drogheda, is situated Listoke, the residence of Lieutenant-Colonel Battersby. This town-

land, with a water-mill, was, in the time of James the First, the property of Edmund Plunkett of Castle-Lumnagh, whose lineal descendants, Oliver and Nicholas Plunkett, subsequently enjoyed it. Near this, on the townland of Carntown, stood formerly the castle of a branch of the Cheevers' family, whose representative in 1687, lies buried, as above mentioned, in the churchyard here. A little west of Listoke, is Killineer House, so called from the little parish of that name, in which it stands, anciently a curacy appertaining to Mellefont, but now annexed to the vicarage of St. Peter's, Drogheda, the church and chapel having been long ruinous. The townland of Phillipstown was accounted within this parish, and was in the 17th century forfeited by Patrick Netterville, and granted to Erasmus Smith.

The remaining chief objects of interest, in the vicinity of Drogheda, will be found on the banks of its river, which, therefore, demands a preliminary notice.

THE BOYNE.

The Buvinda of Ptolemy, "the pleasant Boyne," as Edmund Spencer justly calls it, takes its rise from Trinity well, at the foot of Carbury hill, anciently called Sidh Nectain, in the county Kildare(*a*), whence

(*a*) The several noblemen and gentlemen, who are proprietors of lands along the banks of this river, for ten or eleven miles down its course, are commencing to clear and deepen its bed, which, it is expected, will be of great service, by keeping their

entering Meath, it flows by Clonard, once the seat of learning and St. Finian, and, traversing the centre of that county, forms a boundary to every barony that touches its banks. Flowing by Trim and its Palatinate castle, the splendid remains of Bective Abbey, the thriving town of Navan, the scenic beauties of Beauparc, Slane, Dowth, Farm, Oldbridge, and Townley Hall, it sweeps through Drogheda, and, after winding about five miles below the town, discharges itself into the sea. The origin of its name is, like that of the Liffey and other Irish rivers, the subject of a poem preserved in that ancient Topographical compilation, the *Din-Seanachus*. In the Abstract attached to the Down Survey of the barony of Moyfenragh, in the county Meath, occurs the following very graphic description of this river : " Most part of the south side of this barony is embraced by a pleasant river called the Boyne, which takes its rise out of the barony of Carbury in the county of Kildare. It runs through the middle of the barony, and afterwards, in the manner of a half figure of 8, or capital Roman S, it surrounds part of the northern side of this barony. In its current it is saluted by a very fair river called the Blackwater, which receives its first birth out of the aforesaid barony of Carbury in the county of Kildare ; and several other springs, brooks, and rivulets, do the like homage to

lowlands from being flooded ; will give them falls for their drains ; and afford employment to the industrious poor in their neighbourhood.

it; by the addition of whose forces, if any shower of rain falls, it is expatiated to such a distance, that it will appear to the eye to be a very fair navigable river. In the driest weather and summer time, it is in most parts about sixty feet broad, in some places very deep, and, as it is taking its farewell of the north side of this barony, there is situated a pleasant walled town, whose cognomen (as is by the antientest inhabitants reported), was formerly Meath, as being the chiefest town in the county of Meath, but, after an invasion by the Welch, whose leader was one Sir John de Lacy, and who built the castle and repaired the town, it bears the name Trim, from the English word 'trim,' which, in common acceptation, signifies neat or decent."

The tide affects the river up to Oldbridge, about two miles and a half from Drogheda. The fish caught in the Boyne, are salmon, salmon fry, trout, eels, perch, roach, bream, pike, and sea trout, all of which, with the exception of salmon, salmon fry, and sea trout, are taken in the tributary streams. The exclusive right of fishing, from the Bar to the Pass about three quarters of a mile above Drogheda, has been claimed by the Corporation of Drogheda, but, from neglect or acquiescence, the fishermen at Baltray, below the town, were for a long time suffered to destroy the young salmon in the estuary there, netting them from the beginning of May throughout the summer. The proprietor of Ball's Grove also exercised encroachments upon this fishery, and many

other persons used nets to its great injury. From Pass to Oldbridge, Mr. Coddington asserts a right of exclusive fishery. The construction of the Oldbridge weirs was such, as greatly to prevent the passage of the fish in their ascent to spawn, while, by the combined effects of spur and tail walls, and by the canal wall of the river navigation at this point, the king's gap was completely stopped. Such spur and tail walls have, however, been since decided to be illegal. Above Oldbridge, the fishery belongs to each proprietor along the bank, the centre of the river being considered the boundary; while weirs occur successively at Dowth, Grange, Rosnaree, Slane, and Fenner. Of that at Slane, the following evidence was given, on an inquiry in 1836. "At Slane bridge, the great milldam wall, over which the fish must leap, is so broad in its inclined plane, that the fish cannot leap over it, unless when the water is high; the eastern terminus of this wall goes to one of the arches of the bridge; there a stage is erected, or a curragh fastened, for gaffing salmon, which, unable to get over the wall, gradually fall down along its base to the arch, where they are taken. The person, who rents the fishery, kills more fish here than with his traps and nets, it being almost impossible for the salmon to get over the wall, except when the water is uncommonly high, owing to the width of its inclined plane, eight feet from the surface of the water at ordinary height to the top, as salmon cannot go much forward in leaping." At

Fenner it appeared that eel nets were used to take the salmon after spawning, in their descent to the sea, while in other parts of the river the canal walls for the Boyne navigation have been so much raised that the fish cannot cross them. A great injury to the salmon fishery has been also effected by the operation of the Act, 3 Geo. III. c. 35, which allowed proprietors and their farmers to take salmon at all times of the year, under the supposition that the salmon here were always in season, an opinion inculcated for selfish purposes, but utterly contrary to reason. The salmon go up the Boyne to spawn in August, September, and October, as the floods favour, the female fish return towards the end of December, leaving the male to conduct the fry to the sea, and are in condition after being in the sea six weeks or thereabouts. The eel fry ascend from the sea in June. It is here to be observed, that by the Act, 17 & 18 Geo. III. c. 19, s. 9, it was made imperative on constables to execute warrants for penalties under the Fishery Acts, but in that of the 7 & 8 Geo. IV. c. 67 (the Petty Sessions Act), there is a special clause, prohibiting the constabulary from executing these warrants, and therefore making the penalties nugatory. The discharge of the noxious refuse from the gas works of Drogheda, and the practice of steeping flax in the Boyne, or in its tributary streams, have also been found so to affect the fish, that many have been found dead on the strand.

The recent Act, 5 & 6 Victoria, c. 106, however

with a view to consolidate and amend the existing legislative regulations, concerning the fisheries of Ireland, some of which have been above alluded to, has altogether repealed them, and invested the Commissioners of Public Works, with powers therein prescribed, for their future superintendance and government, and which it does not seem important here to notice. This Act prohibits the use of trawl or trammel nets at any season or place, or of dredges, or any net, instrument, or engine whatsoever, within the limits of an oyster bed being private property; but empowers the owners of several fisheries, and their lessees or assigns, to erect stake weirs, stake nets, bag nets, or other fixed nets, for the taking of salmon, in or along any estuary, subject to certain provisos; which privilege is extended to the proprietors, and to certain lessees of lands adjoining such estuaries, where no several fishery exists. The size of the openings of the nets is defined to be two inches and a half between knot and knot, and not even such are allowable, if placed in any manner injurious to navigation; it being likewise directed, that they shall not extend further than from high to low water mark, nor be used at the mouths of narrow salmon rivers. The interval between the 20th of August and 11th of February is defined as that, during which, from the commencement of the year 1844, no fish of the salmon kind shall be taken in any river, lake, or estuary, while similar prohibitions are enacted against taking trout in the interval be-

tween the 1st of October and the 12th of February; against taking eels in rivers, between the 1st of July and 10th of January, by nets, baskets, or any other fixed engine; and against taking oysters, or oyster brood, between 1st of May and 1st of September; all such prescribed intervals being made subject to alteration by the Commissioners, where expedient. Persons, catching during the prohibited seasons, or exposing to sale any of the several fish so protected, are made liable to heavy penalties. The taking or killing of salmon or trout, by cribs, boxes, sluices, weirs, or nets, is also strictly prohibited from 6 o'clock on Saturday evening to six o'clock on Monday morning, during which time a free passage of four feet wide shall be left for the fish, and at all times a free gap or Queen's share, in the deepest part of every river; nor shall it be narrowed by the erection of any spur or tail walls, nor shall any person fish with rod and line, or in any manner whatsoever, in any gap or Queen's share, in any weir, or within fifty yards above or below such weir. The Act also prohibits the use of cross lines, for taking salmon or trout, save by the proprietor of a several fishery, or any person duly authorized by him in writing, within the limits thereof. Persons wilfully taking or offering to sale unclean, spent, or unseasonable fish, are liable to penalties, as are also those netting salmon or other fish in mill-dams or water-courses. And the proprietors of fisheries in rivers or lakes, or on the coast, are empowered to appoint

water bailiffs to protect their respective fisheries therein, whose qualifications and powers are defined.

The principal Annals of this historic river, as connected with Drogheda, have been already alluded to, and shall therefore be here but briefly referred to. At the time of the birth of our Saviour, according to all the annalists, it was blessed with a preeminent superabundance of fish, while peace and happiness are alike recorded to have rejoiced this then isle of the Gentiles. In the second century Ptolemy of Pelusium, the geographer, who avowedly derived his information of Ireland from the Phœnician merchants that frequented its ports, marks the Boyne on his map by the name of Buvinda, a term which Baxter, in his Glossary, would have to signify the river of the white cows, while many other etymologists rely on derivations as inexplicable as dissentient. At the close of the third century that great ornament of Irish history, Cormac, the son of Art, the warrior, legislator, moralist and philosopher, having spent the evening of his days in a retirement near Kells, is stated to have been buried on the banks of the Boyne, and about the same time Fingal was, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, slain with arrows on its margin.

St. Patrick, on his landing at Colpe, proceeded along the southern bank of this river to Slane, while Jocelin, the monk of Furnes, in his life of that Saint, states that Luman immediately afterwards sailed up with a favourable wind, but without oars, against

the stream of this river, from Drogheda to Trim, of which latter place Luman was afterwards Bishop. The frequent devastations of the Danes along its banks, during the ninth century, are detailed in the General History; yet were so many ecclesiastical houses and schools maintained on these banks, that, for centuries before the English invasion, it was styled by the flattering appellation of the river of sanctity and science. The Annals of the Four Masters record, at the year 931, the death of "the chief poet of Ireland, the Bard of the Boyne," and at 1032, a sad victory obtained on its banks by Sitric, the son of Aulaffe, and his Danes, over the Irish, in which three hundred of the latter were slain or taken prisoners. After the English invasion this river, from Trim to Drogheda, was the acknowledged northern terminator of the Pale. In 1203, King John confirmed to the Abbot of Mellefont, certain rights of fishery at both its sides, as appurtenant to the landed possessions of his house. In 1330, a memorable flood of this river swept away (according to Grace's Annals), all the bridges, except Babe's bridge, near Blackcastle, and did much injury at Trim, Drogheda, and the adjoining districts; soon after which considerable evidence appears upon record, of litigation between the Crown and the patentees of weirs on this water. One instance occurred in 1342, when the king directed his mandate to his then Escheator, Roger D'Arcy, in which, after reciting a prior writ to said Escheator, requiring him to certify his rea-

sons for seizing on a certain weir at Fenner, on the Boyne, the property of William de Clifford, and the Escheator's return thereon, that he had seized the weir because said William had raised it so high on the mid-channel of the king's water-way, that no small ships or boats could pass as they were wont, to the prejudice of the king and his people; the king therefore directs, that, inasmuch as the cause assigned does not appear to be sufficient justification, the Escheator shall, if he has no better, withdraw his caption and account for mesne profits to Clifford. "Witness, John Morris, our Deputy, at Skryne, 15th March, 17th of our reign." Another instance appears on record in 1366, when Reginald Leynagh, Abbot of Mellefont, was indicted for erecting a weir on the Boyne, at Oldbridge. The jury, upon that occasion, found that, from the time of the arrival of the English, the king had a certain free passage on that river, from the town of Drogheda to the bridge of Trim, usually called a watersarde, twenty-four feet in breadth from the bank on each side of the river, according to the discretion of twelve honest men, six of the neighbourhood of one side, and six of the other; and that through this aperture boats called curraghs, with timber for building, and floats, had liberty to pass free constantly from Drogheda to the bridge of Trim. They also found that no weir had been erected there for upwards of thirty years, whereupon the weir was adjudged to be removed, and the Abbot fined. Renewed efforts at similar

encroachments are evidenced during the following century, when it was established that the Kings of England had a right of passage along the midstream of the Boyne, from Drogheda to Trim, of the breadth of twenty-four feet, in the deepest part of this river, which was considered to be navigable only for boats and rafts of timber. In 1468, an Act of the Parliament of Drogheda granted a weir on the river to the Abbot of Duleek and his successors. In 1536, however, weirs in this river were abolished by the legislature, and the Sheriff of the county was empowered to abate them as a nuisance, in consequence of their obstructing the navigation, destroying the fish, and inducing unlawful exactions.

The Boyne, from Trim to Drogheda, was, as before suggested, at this time, and for a long period after, the northern boundary of the English Pale, and was through this important portion protected at the south side by the castles of the Palatine, at Trim; Hussey, at Galtrim; De Scurlog, at Scurlogstown; Plunkett, at Killeen; Plunkett, at Dunsany; De Phepoe, at Scrine; Dillon, at Lismullen; Dowdall, at Athlumney; D'Arcy, at Platten; Draycot, at Mornington, &c.; and not less effectively on the north by the castle of Barnewall of Trimleston; those of Rathaldron and Black Castle; those of D'Arcy of Dunmow; Fleming of Slane; Netterville of Dowth; Plunkett of Bewly, &c. In 1598, as suggested in the General History, Red Hugh O'Donnell, in his flight from Dublin, crossed the Boyne near Drogheda. On

reaching the opposite side, as the narrative continues, "O'Donnell and his companion proceeded on their way until they were about the distance of 2000 paces from the river, here they perceived a close sheltering grove before them, on the road through which they had to pass, and a strong great ditch surrounding it, as if it were a garden. Beside the wood was a noble mansion called the great monastery (most probably Mellefont), belonging to a noted young Englishman who was attached to Hugh O'Neill; they leaped over the ditch and proceeded straight forward into the wood, for the servant was well acquainted there. Here they stopped their horses"(a), and O'Donnell, having been refreshed, remained in a secret room until the night of the next day, when he resumed his journey, and ultimately, passing through Dundalk, arrived in safety at the friendly residence of Turlough O'Neill. In 1641, during the siege of Drogheda, this river was so hardly frozen that it could scarcely be broken with mallets, and horses and men could and did pass safely over it. In the following year the Earl of Ormond was commissioned to lead 3000 foot and 500 horse towards the river Boyne, and to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition, and he was strictly and injudiciously enjoined on no account to pass this river. On the first of July, 1690, the memorable battle was fought

(a) MS. Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell.

about Oldbridge, which has immortalized this river, and the details whereof are given in the General History. In 1736, the first stone of the obelisk, commemorative of that event, was laid on the north bank of the river, by the Duke of Dorset, it stands on a rock, and is a square stone, twenty feet to each side at the base, and about one hundred and fifty feet high, bearing the following inscription:

“ SACRED TO THE GLORIOUS MEMORY

OF

KING WILLIAM THE THIRD,

who, on the 1st of July, 1690, crossed the Boyne near this place, to attack James the Second at the head of a Popish army, advantageously posted on the south side of it, and did on that day, by a successful battle, secure to us and our posterity, our liberty, laws, and religion. In consequence of this action James the Second left this kingdom, and fled to France. This memorial of our deliverance was erected in the ninth year of the reign of King George the Second, the first stone being laid by Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland.

MDCCXXXVI.

“ This monument was erected by the grateful contributions of several Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland.”

In 1787, the Corporations of Navan, Trim, and Kells, and several of the inhabitants of those towns

and neighbourhood, petitioned Parliament, setting out that the salmon fishery of the Boyne had considerably declined, in consequence of the number of weirs erected under the direction of the Navigation Board, between Drogheda and Navan, and of the particular construction of said weirs, by which the run of the salmon up the river had been in a great measure prevented; that, from the salmon not being permitted to have a passage up the river at the season of spawning, the fishery would be utterly destroyed, and such fish as remained, made the property of the persons possessing said weirs, who thus converted to their private advantage what ought to be a public benefit; that, previous to the erecting of said weirs, salmon was usually sold in Navan at one penny per pound, and that, at the time of said petition, they were scarcely to be had on any terms, a circumstance which militated against the poor; and they prayed, on these accounts, to have the navigation and mill weirs on each side, raised so as to cause all the waste water to flow in one body in the centre of the river. It but remains to add, of the Boyne, that it gives title of Viscount to the Stackallen branch of the noble family of Hamilton, of which family, a lengthened Memoir may be seen in D'Alton's "History of the County of Dublin."

The successive localities, that occur on the northern banks of this river, in the immediate vicinity of Drogheda, are as follow :

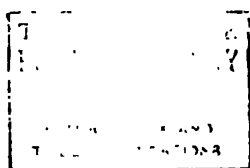
Passing through St. Laurence's gate, close to Al-

derman Tiernan's sweetly situated cottage, and by Prospect, the pretty villa of Mr. St. George Smyth, Greenhills invites attention, as the scene of a memorable engagement mentioned in the General History. Immediately at left is Newtown-Stalebane, formerly accounted a portion of the parish of Tullyallen, and as such, appertaining to the Cistercian Abbey of Mellefont, whose Abbot appointed a curate for its ecclesiastical service. The greater portion of this denomination was, accordingly, held of the abbey, and passed, with the grant of its possessions, to Lord Moore, while about two hundred acres were held by the Plunketts of Bewly, under the Archbishop of Armagh. The village was burned during the siege of 1641, by Sir Henry Tichburne, with the object of provoking Sir Phelim O'Neill to an engagement. Beyond this, on the northern bank of the Boyne, while Mornington occupies the southern, stands

BEWLY,

Once a manor belonging to the Plunkett family, ancestors of the Earls of Fingal, and where yet, and in good preservation, stands, upon the site of the old manor house, and surrounded by venerable trees, a fine seat, built by Sir Henry Tichburne, who, on the attainder of William Plunkett, obtained, in 1666, a grant of his estates, viz., Bewly, 468 acres, Banktown, 125 acres; Newtown (part), 218 acres, &c. The son of this Sir Henry was afterwards created Lord Ferrard. The hall of Bewly is particularly





worthy of notice, studded, as it is, with the armorial bearings and portraits of the family and connexions of its founder, with two of King William and Queen Mary respectively, and exhibiting, on the mouldings and casings of the several doors that open into it, most curious carvings of musical instruments. There is also depicted on one wall, an interesting view of Drogheda with its fortifications, supposed to have been executed in 1718. On the grounds near the shore, a handsome Swiss-like cottage has been recently erected.

This parish ranks as a rectory, with cure, in the diocese of Armagh, and gift of the Lord Primate. It comprises 1000 acres of good land, statute measure, 10 of lake, and about 218 of tideway of the Boyne; while its population is estimated as 688 persons, about one-fifth of whom are of the Established Church. The rent-charge, amounting to £74, is payable to the incumbent, who had also formerly an allowance of £40 per annum, out of Primate Boulter's fund. The present church, which is situated near the manor-house, was erected about thirty years since, at an expense of £550 British, granted for that purpose by the late Board of First Fruits, and already contains some handsome marble monuments to the Montgomery family, and one to the Donaghs of Newtown-Stalebane; and in the graveyard is a curious stone, with the figure of a skeleton in alto relievo. The old church was founded at the close of the thirteenth century, and was dedicated to St. Brigid, by John

Plunkett, hereditary lord of the manor, and from whom have lineally descended the Earls of Fingal, the Lords Dunsany and Louth, &c. His right of presentation thereto was shortly afterwards disputed in the Court of Exchequer, when he pleaded, that Bewly, being distant two leagues from the church of Termonfeckin, and the intermediate land, in the winter and rainy seasons, being covered with water at times to such a depth, that travellers could not pass, whereby the tenants were precluded from attending divine service in that church, and many women after childbirth had, in consequence, died without the sacraments, that therefore, John Plunkett and Alicia his wife had, after due application to the Primate, founded the church of Bewly within their manor; and that, therefore, to them, as lords of the soil, accrued the right of advowson or presentation to the church, and judgment was, thereupon, pronounced in favour of the right of said John(a). It was afterwards, from the earliest period of ecclesiastical taxation, valued and rated at £6 2s. 1d. sterling. In 1381, its parson, Andrew Waryng, incurred the forfeiture of two-thirds of the issues and profits of his benefice, by reason of absenteeism, but afterwards obtained pardon, and a remission of the penalty. In 1418, Walter Plunkett obtained a royal confirmation of his rights in Bewly, Carrstown, Termonfeckin, Tallonstown, Brownstown, Louth, &c.,

(a) Rot. 9, 10, and 11 Edw. II., in Scacc. Hib.

of the greater portion of which his descendant, John Plunkett, suffered recoveries in 1549, and from him these estates descended lineally through George, William, and Thomas, to William Plunkett the younger, by whom they were forfeited, in the confiscations consequent upon the civil war of 1641, as before suggested. Bewly House was the head-quarters of Sir Phelim O'Neill, during the siege of Drogheda, and Richard Plunkett of Bewly was a Colonel in his army, one of whose letters, relative to an exchange of prisoners, is given in Dean Bernard's History. That dignitary also states, that Lieutenant Greenham, with a party of Captain Gibson's company, was stationed at Bewly, while Captain Constables was at Mellefont, and he adds, "they let few days pass without reaping some of the rebels' heads." Sir Henry Tichburne, on obtaining the grant before alluded to, and having purchased some charges affecting the estates, made Bewly thenceforth his residence, and there died in 1667. Lord Chesterfield, during his Viceroyalty in 1746, sojourned here for some months.

The succession of incumbents at Bewly has been, as far as ascertained :

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1381. Andrew Waring. | 1634. Thomas Seele [col- |
| 1490. John Warr. | lated. He was after- |
| 1549. Thomas Bocun. | wards Dean of St. Pa- |
| 1618. John Wright [on | trick's]. |
| the presentation of Pa- | 1682. Tobias Pullen [in- |
| trick Plunkett]. | stituted]. |
| 1622. Henry Leysley. | 1719. Rich. Farrer [coll ^d] |

1752. Robert Symonds lated].
 [collated]. 1827. John Smythe [col-
 1757. David Smyth [col- lated].
 lated]. 1831. Edward Groome
 1783. Jerome Alley [col- [collated].

Contiguous to Bewly, on the water side, is Queensborough, a neat little village, resorted to in the bathing season, by the townspeople of Drogheda. Immediately on its entrance, is the not less beautiful than tastefully laid out villa of Mr. Ralph Smyth, Sheriff of Drogheda, and at a short distance beyond which, on the strand, is Baltray, now but an unimportant fishing village, although accounted by Hollingshed, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, one of the chief haven towns of Ireland. A little rivulet here empties itself out of the estuary of the Boyne, while the road leads hence through plantations, to the prettily situated village of

TERMONFECKIN.

A manor appertaining, from time immemorial, to the Archbishops of Armagh, and for centuries their country residence, when the palace was kept in Drogheda. The village, once a town of note, is situated on a rivulet, which, here passing under a handsome cut stone bridge of two arches, after enclosing a little island on which Mr. Mac Clintock has raised a cottage ornée, falls into the adjacent sea. A mouldering square tower, with a portcullis-like front, affording, from its summit, a fine prospect, yet remains, to mark where the castle

of the Primates was constructed, on the highest point of the village, overlooking sea and land, as much for their defence as their dignity; close to it stood, until lately, a circular tower of the outworks, but this, with other portions thereof, and the barbican, have been long since removed. Views of its earlier appearance are to be found in Wright's Louthiana, and Grose's Antiquities. The parish comprises 6382 statute acres, of which, seventy-eight are tide-way of the Boyne; its population has been reported as 3,344 persons, of whom only about one-tenth are of the Established Church; the rectory and vicarage are united, by Act of Council, to the rectories of Kill-clogher and Maine, and the union thus constituted, is in the patronage of the Crown. A shady avenue leads from the village, by a well of ancient reverence over-arched with rubble stone, to the church, which is a plain but neat edifice. Within it is an assemblage of handsome marble monuments, such as are rarely found in the church of a rural Irish district. Next the communion table, one, of white marble, is erected to the memory of Alexander Mac Clintock of Newtown-House, who died in 1796, and to his descendants. Next it is another very handsome, to Mr. Wallop Brabazon, who died in 1831. Beside it, one to the first wife of said Mr. Brabazon, Jane Brabazon *alias* Du Pre, daughter of Josias Du Pre of Wilton Park, Buckinghamshire; she died at Hung Road, near Bristol, in 1796, aged 31. Next occurs a white marble mural monument,

to Captain Thomas Hawkshaw, "late of the 5th Regiment of Foot, who died in 1793; and to his son Thomas, who died in 1802; and to his son Wallop Brabazon Hawkshaw, late Lieutenant of the Vigo man-of-war, who died in 1813." The above Captain Thomas Hawkshaw was, as stated on the monument, son to the Reverend John Hawkshaw of the county Monaghan, and the monument was erected by his widow, Vincentia Brabazon. Last at this side, next the entrance, is a black marble slab, to Anthony Brabazon of Carstown, Esq., who died in 1771; he married Mary, daughter of Philip Donagh, Esq., and, as the monument adds, Captain James Brabazon, father of said Anthony, married Mary, daughter of Henry Colley, Esq., of Castle Carberry; he was, as thereon set forth, "sixth son of James Brabazon, second son of Sir Anthony Brabazon, brother to the first Earl of Meath." This marble also records the death of Mary, relict of the aforesaid Anthony, in 1793. On the opposite side of the church, is a yet solitary white marble slab to Mr. George Pentland of Blackhall, who died in 1834; his wife Mary; and his eldest son Robert.—In the shades of the surrounding graveyard are tombs, commemorating the Jennys and Brabazons, from 1709; the Mac Clintocks, from 1796; the Pentlands of Blackhall; the Ledwiches and Mac Evoys; and one of 1504, to the memory of John de Palatio, sub-dean of Armagh. There is also here, one of those fine old stone crosses, which marked ecclesiastical jurisdiction and communities;

it is curiously carved and ogied down its pedestal; the arms are enclosed within a circle, and are carved, on the one side with the crucified Saviour, and angels at his head and hands, while on the other side appears a figure, intended, as it would seem, to represent St. Patrick. There is, in the village, a Roman Catholic chapel, a plain thatched edifice in the T shape. There is also here a National School, which is attended, on the latest Report, by 180 boys and 79 girls.

The name of Termon-Feckin suggests the immunities and exemptions anciently annexed to the locality, as the *termon* or *erenach* lands of St. Fechin, who founded a monastery here in the middle of the seventh century. To this holy man, who was Abbot of Fore, the religious house of Ballysadare also owed its origin. The Irish Annals record the deaths of Abbots and Archennaghs of this house, down to the time of the English invasion, immediately previous to which, a chief of the Mac Mahon sept founded and endowed an abbey here, for regular canonesses, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin. Its possessions afterwards vested in the superior of the nunnery of Clonard, to whom this house of the canonesses became subservient, as was recognized by Pope Celestine the Third, in 1195; and a plot adjoining the village is still known by the appellation of the Nunnery land. The abbey, however, which was dedicated to St. Fechin, was, together with the church of Kill-clogher, and the

tithes of the parish, appropriated to the Prior of Louth, who claimed certain privileges of fishery in the Boyne in right thereof, against the Prior of Lanthony, which were the subject of litigation, and of an ultimate appeal to the Pope, in the commencement of the fifteenth century. The Prior of Louth had, likewise, the first voice in the election of the Prioress. The manor and lands of Termonfeckin, soon after the English invasion, passed by royal grant to the Primate, and accordingly, Richard de Rupella appears, on record, assigning to John Fyfe, all the land and tenements which he had in Termonfeckin by grant from William Martell, to hold to said John in fee, as freely as said Richard held same, rendering yearly to the Archbishop of Armagh and his successors, one pound of cumin, and to the chapter of the church of Armagh, one pound of wax at Easter. Early in the fourteenth century, an attempt was made on behalf of the Crown, to divest the Prior of Louth of the advowson of this benefice, but it was ultimately, after protracted litigation, decided to appertain to that Prior, and early presentations of his are on record. In 1385, Richard Moore, vicar of Termonfeckin, was one of those sent by Richard the Second, on an embassy to the Court of Rome. In 1442, the Primate summoned all the parties interested, to appear here before him, to show cause, if any existed, against the projected union of the dioceses of Connor and Down; and in the following year, Primate Prene, who had been in early life rector of this parish, died, and was buried

here. There was, at this time, a chantry in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the church of Termonfeckin, which Anna Bocombe endowed with the lands of Lobingstown, Rathmerichan, Bardeston, and five acres of land in Drumconrath; this alienation was made in 1463, without the royal license, and at which time John Sanders was vicar of said chapel. In 1470, Thady, Bishop of Down and Connor, made his obeisance here to John Bole, the Primate, and, "laying his hand on his heart, and looking on the gospel," he swore obedience to the church of Armagh, its Archbishop, and his successors. In 1471, in the Parliament of Dublin, the demesnes of Richard Verdon of Termonfeckin, were discharged from the payment of subsidies, the custom in the county of Louth being, as therein recited, that no gentleman should pay subsidies for lands occupied by himself; and in 1508, Malachy O'Cluan was here consecrated Bishop of Killala.

The Crown, soon afterwards, on the dissolution of monasteries, acquired the advowson hereto, as well as the tithes of the parish, on which occasion, the respective rights of the religious houses, here and hereto, were ascertained by inquisitions, and subsequently demised or granted to several patentees. In 1543, Primate Dowdall, the last of the legally acknowledged Roman Catholic Primates, was interred here. In 1613, Primate Henry Ussher died in this village, and in 1617, the manor was valued to the First Fruits at £23 18s. 6d., and the rectory at £9 7s.

sterling. In 1621, after the succession of Primate Hampton to the See, his possessions in right thereof were, on inquisition, found to comprise the manor, castle, town, and lands of Termonfeckin, to which appertained one great castle, and a carucate of land in Termonfeckin; thirty acres in Betaghstown in said parish; the town and land called Colnerstown, containing half a carucate; Bullraye, sixty acres; Kill-clogher, sixty acres; the Dales, sixty acres; Allmondston, thirty acres; Ballygander, sixty acres; one carucate in Newtown-Monasterboyce, and five acres of the meadows; sixty acres in Oldtown-Monasterboyce; Curragh, thirty acres; one carucate in Rusteagh; one water-mill in Termonfeckin; the parsonage and tithes of Ballymakenny, with all the messuages, lands, and tenements, lying within and upon the east side of the river of Termonfeckin; the custom of fish in every boat, which shall come within the harbours and creeks of the said town of Kill-clogher, that is to say, the best fish in every boat which shall come in there. It was also thereby found, that said Archbishop was seised in fee of the manor, castle, &c., of Dromisken, to which belonged one castle and a carucate of land in Dromisken, &c. In 1630, Primate Ussher entertained here his celebrated suffragan, Doctor Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore; and, in ten years afterwards, removed into England, whence he never returned to his province. In the confiscations consequent upon the civil war of 1641, the forfeiting proprietors within this parish were Stephen and John Dowdall, William, George, and James

Plunkett, Edward Brabazon, John Taaffe, Christopher Dardis, &c. ; while the chief patentees were Colonel William Legg, and Erasmus Smith. In 1661, Primate Bramhall made arrangements for rebuilding the episcopal house here, and for enclosing the park. Many of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Armagh also made Termonfeckin their residence. Of these was the ill-fated Doctor Oliver Plunkett, up to the time of his unjustifiable arrest in 1680.

The succession of the incumbents to this benefice, as far as ascertained, was as follows :

1369. Stephen Stanton.	1747. William Henderson.
1385. Richard Moore.	son.
1414. John Prene.	1767. Richard Gorges.
1461. John Sanders.	1802. George Lambert.
1620. Luke Ussher.	1805. William Jones
1695. Rowland Singleton.	Armstrong.
1741. Benj. Barrington.	1827. John Kerr.

About a mile north of Termonfeckin, on the way to Clogher-head, is

GLASSPISTOL,

of whose ancient castle is yet traced one fine square, with a projecting angular tower also square, and all thickly covered with yellow lichen. Before the Dissolution, this townland was the property of the Prior of Louth; it afterwards passed to the Dowdall family, on whose attainder, in 1641, it was granted to Erasmus Smith and James Graham.

The last locality which claims to be included in this direction, is

CLOGHER, OR KILL-CLOGHER,

which, though distinguished in the earliest ages of Christianity, by the foundation of a religious establishment, of which, St. Nectan, the nephew of St. Patrick, was Abbot or Bishop, is now but a poor straggling village of about eighty houses, or rather cabins, and 600 inhabitants, who are chiefly engaged in the fishery. It is built on the ascent of the truly stony eminence that gives name to Clogher-head, whence, a most extensive view is attained over sea and land. Dunany point and church, Barmeath, Rokeby Hall, Walshestown chapel, and Collon hill, are especial objects in the panorama, from the point first mentioned to Termonfeekin. On the ascent of this promontory are seen extensive ruins of the old church, still singularly perfect, presenting an aisle of sixteen yards in length by six in breadth, and a choir of ten by five, divided from each other by an arch of ten feet span; the doorway is a pointed arch, through which opens a pretty vista of the village and the sea; the windows appear to have been originally pointed arches, rebuilt into squares. Within these ruins there are no monuments, but the baptismal font still asserts there its parochial privileges. In the graveyard is a large enclosed monument to Brabazon Newcomen, who died in 1766, and whose descendants are still proprietors here; but their former mansion-house, demesne, and garden, at Calliaghstown, present only images of desolation and decay. The parish contains

1861 statute acres, chiefly under tillage, while its population amounts to 1371 inhabitants. The rectory and vicarage are in the union of Termonfeckin. On the north side of Clogher-head there is a natural little cave in the rocky cliff, about eleven perches by four at high water. The Commissioners of Irish Fisheries granted sums for its improvement, which, with aids from the neighbouring gentry, farmers, and traders, have been appropriated to excavations, to cutting a passage through the beach into it, and to the erection of a pier. Off this head E. N. E. lie Maguire's-Bank, Rough-Ground, and New-Bank, extending six or seven leagues to sea, and stretching six leagues in length, in from five to fifty fathoms water; they afford to the fishermen a great abundance of cod, haddock, conger, ling, mackarel, whit- ing, herrings, hake, and all kinds of flat fish.

At the close of the fifth century, St. Nectan, as suggested above, was Bishop here, at which time, and for a long period after, the locality was called Kill-Finnabor. A great portion of the land of this parish also was in ancient time annexed to the See of Armagh, and was as such, during its vacancy in 1257, vested in Commissioners for the Crown, while the tithes formed part of the endowment of the Priory of Louth. In 1388 the king granted license to Edmund Berle, to alienate two-thirds of the manor of Kill-Clogher, with the reversion of another portion held by Sir Maurice Fitz-Eustace, and to enfeoff Robert Stakeboll and others therewith; and in 1400, John

Wormington and John Wynter, chaplain, being seised in fee of five messuages and five carucates of land in Kill-clogher, which were held of the king *in capite* by knight's service, conveyed same absolutely to Jenico Dartditz and wife, to whom in three years afterwards the king granted "all the corn in a certain haggard within the parish of Kill-clogher, in the county Uriel, which had come to the king by reason of the forfeiture of Richard Fitz-Richard. In a Parliament held in Dublin, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Edward the Fourth (1475), an Act was passed (unprinted), authorizing Lord Portlester to repair the port of Kill-clogher, and to charge and distrain the boats frequenting same for certain dues towards his reimbursement. After the dissolution of monasteries, the Crown, having acquired the tithes of Kill-clogher parish in right of the Priory of Louth, granted them, according to the policy of the day, for determinable interests to various lessees; the parish then included the townlands of Kill-clogher, Glasspistol, Calliaghstown, Almonston, Castlecoe, and Ganderston, alias Ballygander. By a subsequent inquisition the Primate's rights in the lands were found to extend to 60A. in Kill-clogher, 60A. in the Dales, 30A. in Almonston, 60A. in Ballygander, &c.; and lastly, by another inquisition of 1633, Thomas Viscount Merrion was found seised in fee of the town and lands of Kill-clogher, containing four messuages, and 180A., then held by him *in capite* by knight's service.

MONASTERBOYCE.

Westward of Clogher, about four miles distant from Drogheda, are situated the very interesting ruins of Monasterboyce. They are all comprised within a small cemetery, and consist of the shells of two chapels, of a simple but massive construction; one of these, within which is the baptismal font, denoting it to have been the parochial church, measures in the aisle fifteen yards by six, and is now terminated at east by a fine circular arch, four yards and a half in width, which divided aisle and choir, but no trace of the latter portion of the edifice is now discernible. The second chapel measures thirteen yards by five, and is entered by a small Saxon arched doorway. Immediately near this stands a finely preserved specimen of those Pagan round towers, the era and uses of which will be found treated upon and illustrated in the Essay before alluded to by the author of this work. That, at present under consideration, is seventeen yards in circumference at the base, the inner diameter being three yards. It is calculated to be ninety feet in height, and diminishes gradually from the base. The door, which is five feet six inches in height, and 22 inches in width, is formed of a circular arch, and stands six feet from the ground. Immediately over it is a pointed arched window, but all the other windows are, as usual, small square holes. It was divided within into five

stories, by rings of stone slightly projecting. Between the two chapels is a peculiarly fine stone cross, popularly named after St. Buite. It measures about eighteen feet in height, and is apparently of one stone, comprising the cross, which projects its arms from a circle, and rests on a four-sided pedestal, the sides of the pedestal, cross, and shaft being elaborately sculptured in relief, which, though much defaced, appear to have represented in departments scriptural subjects, amongst which Mr. Wright, in his *Louthiania*, affects to distinguish the Saviour; St. Patrick, having at his feet an angel with a pair of scales; St. Buite; and Adam and Eve, with the tree between them. It is undoubtedly one of the most ancient religious relics of Christian discipline now in Ireland, and is said to have been sent from Rome and erected by order of the Pope. At the south side of the grave-yard stands another cross, perfect, similar in its shape, and scarcely less beautifully ornamented. It stands sixteen feet high, and, in the numerous devices down its fronts, is considered to exhibit a history of the creation, the temptation by Eve, &c., while on the one side of the cross portion, the crucifixion is represented, with the spearmen transfixing our Saviour, and on the other St. Patrick; each of those crosses terminates conically, while the upper section of a third, which still stands on the east side of the cemetery, exhibits also the crucifixion and the spearmen in the front of the cross part, but the top of this is flat. Sir Richard Colt

Hoare observes of these crosses, that neither the sister kingdom, nor the principality of Wales can produce their equals. Wright, in the "Louthiana," gives fine engravings of them, as does Grose of the whole scene: the latter compiler mentions, that three Anglo-Saxon coins were found in digging a grave near St. Buite's cross, two having the words "Edmund Rex," and the other "Ethelstan." The burial place is much used, but contains no monument of note. The parish, to which this locality gives a name, extends two miles in length by one and a half in breadth, comprising within its circuit, 2316 statute acres, mostly good land, and profitably cultivated, with a population of 801 persons.

At the close of the fifth century the religious house was founded by St. Buite, the son of Bronnagh, from whom it derived the name of Monaster-Buite, corrupted into its present appellation. The founder dying in 521, was buried in the ground which his faith and piety had consecrated. About the year 591, this abbey was visited by St. Columba, the founder of the celebrated monastery of Iona, who undertook the conversion of the northern Picts, and penetrated as far as the Orkneys; on this occasion he caused a tomb to be erected to St. Buite, and consecrated the additional chapel here. It may be remarked, that there is a denomination of land in this Barony of Ferrard, called Columbkille, a moiety of which, together with moieties of several other lands in the same barony, was conveyed, about the year

1768, for the residue of a term of years by William Byrne of Dundalk the lessee, on trust that all the rents, issues, and profits thereof should be yearly divided and distributed in such proportions as the trustees might elect, amongst the most indigent housekeepers and inhabitants of the parishes of Dundalk, Killingcoole, Darver, Louth, and Killany, "without respect, or distinction, as to age, sex, religion, or persuasion, but to those most worthy of compassion, and of good character." Subsequent to the time of Columba, the Irish Annalists notice the deaths of successive abbots of this house in 632, 759, 762, 800, 836, 844, 853, 864, 875, 881, and 887. In 922 say the Four Masters, Muireadach Mac Donell died Abbot of this house, "the head of all the preachers from Slieve Fuad (in county Down) to Leinster," and next in succession to the abbacy or bishopric of Armagh. In 933 died the Abbot Maolbrigid, as did the Abbot Dubhda-boireann in 964. In 968, this monastery was devastated by Donald, King of Ireland, in an expedition which he undertook against the Danes. In 1004, died the Abbot, Donald Mac Marinia, "a holy and reverend priest;" and in 1052, Flan, a professor of this abbey, and an eminent antiquary died; some of his works survive, and in particular, a metrical History of Ireland by him is yet extant in the manuscripts at Stowe. In 1097, the belfry of this Abbey was, according to the Four Masters, destroyed by fire, with its valuable contents of books and precious articles. This, and similar

records, in relation to other ecclesiastical houses, are important as establishing the use of distinct erections for belfries and repositories, and negating the conclusion of some, who insist the towers were originally erected for such respective purposes, although in form, height, narrowness, and internal construction, utterly unfitted for any of those objects. In 1017 died the Abbot Eogan Mac Eachtearn, Vicar of Buite. In 1392, King Richard committed to John, Archbishop of Armagh, then Primate, the custody of two carucates of land in the new town of Monasterboyce, eighty acres in Betaghstown, near Termonfeckin, and ninety acres in the townland of Ballygander, which are stated to have been parcels of the temporalities of said Archbishop. In 1522, John Rawson, Prior of Kilmainham, demised for a term of years to Oliver Plunkett, of Uriel, gentleman, and Nicholas Chamberlain, chaplain, their heirs and assigns, the churches and tithes of Monasterboyce, Dysard, and Clonkeen, and the oblations, rents, and services, arising annually out of Termonfeckin, Dunleer, and Dunany, at the rent of £10 13s. 4d. *per annum*, said lessees being bound to keep up and support, at their own expense, the churches of Monasterboyce, Dysard, and Clonkeen, and all burdens attending same. This lease was renewed in 1538, for sixty years. In 1542, it was found on inquisition taken, that the Prior of the great House of Kilmainham was seised (*inter alia*) of two messuages; 60A. of land and bog in Mountsterbute, annual value 66s. 8d.; a

messuage and 4A. of land in the town of Mayne, &c. The Primate's possessions in Monasterboyce are before alluded to in the notice of Termonfeckin.

An Ecclesiastical Return of 1622, states Monasterboyce as appropriate to Lord Louth, who had, by virtue thereof, all the tithes, great and small, of the parish; while the Easter offerings, and the personal dues on marriages, christenings, and burials, were assigned for the curate. Ambrose Hook was at this time the incumbent. Evidence of a strictly legal nature, relative to the "Rectory of Monasterboyce," may be found in the Certificates for adventurers and soldiers enrolled in the office of the Chief Remembrancer. In 1682, the rectory and vicarage of this parish were united by Act of Council with those of Dunleer, Moylary, Dysert, and Keppock, and the vicarage of Drumcar, of all which union, the rectory of Dysert alone has been taxed to the First Fruits. Early in the eighteenth century, the Burtons, of Burton Hall in the county Carlow, acquired the fee of a portion of Monasterboyce, which passed in 1765 to Doctor Smyth of Dublin, whose interest was recently purchased by Mr. William Drummond Delap, who has erected a handsome and spacious mansion on the premises.

South-east of this locality, but within the county of Louth, stand the remains of the once magnificent and most celebrated monastic foundation in this part of Ireland, the Cistercian Abbey of

MELLEFONT.

They are situated about four miles and a half from Drogheda, in a sequestered valley watered by the prettily winding Mattock, which here enters a remarkable cleft or ravine, and is the boundary between the two counties of Louth and Meath; the eastern or Louth side is composed of limestone rock, rude and rough, in some places thinly covered with a scanty turf, but in others entirely exposed. On the western or Meath side, the bank rises nearly perpendicular from the margin of the stream, to about thirty feet in height, and is wholly composed of clay. At a short distance down the valley, a projection of the naked rock approaches to within a few yards of the river, and here, a portion of the entrance to Mellefont yet stands, a massive square tower, carried up on one side to a considerable height, and forming a strong protection against the frequent assaults, to which, from its position immediately outside the Pale, it was for centuries exposed, connected as it was with the rock ledges on the Louth side by a wall, that only admitted ingress through a large circular arch, under which the head-race of an extensive flour mill is now conducted. On passing this arch, the first edifice, that attracts attention, is that called the baptistry, a building of great beauty, but now so completely dilapidated, that it is difficult to conjecture its former appropriation. It was once octagonal, with an arched entrance at each face; only

five sides now survive, each resting on an arch of graceful form; the roof is wanting; but, while a ledge runs inside, at a height that evinces it once supported the flooring of another room, the corbels are yet fixed in the walls, from which the arches sprung to support that roof. The ornamental parts of this building were of red granite, and were, it is thought, formerly painted and partly gilt. An engraving of the whole, in its more perfect state, is given by Wright, in his *Louthiana*. Near it is a holy well, which, after being lost in the ruins for many years, was discovered and re-opened in 1826; between this and the baptistry are the vaults and fallen, though still stubbornly cemented, walls of a large edifice. Next the octagonal structure are the elegant remains of St. Bernard's chapel imbedded in the rock, the floor being considerably lower than the outer surface. It consists of a crypt or underground chapel, and an upper apartment; the former was a chaste specimen of most elaborate and finished workmanship; the roof is plainly groined with arches springing from clusters of columns on the side walls, with foliage-ornamented capitals; the windows are also groined and pillared at the angles, the bases of the pillars representing grotesque heads, apparently pressed flat by the superincumbent weight; the mullions are all destroyed, but some portions of the tracery of the tops remain, and a handsome lozenge or nail-headed moulding is continued round the interior of each, below which a projecting basement runs

about a foot high, and eight inches broad, the bases of the centre column of each cluster descend to the floor, but those of the other two, for each cluster is composed of three, only descend to and rest upon the basement. This crypt is lighted from an eastern window of two lights, enriched with delicate tracery, and with two windows of a similar design at each side. The stone casings of these windows have been carried away, and, above all to be regretted, is the removal of the richly sculptured and deeply receding pointed arched doorway, that once graced this interesting ecclesiastical relic. Plates of the buildings here are preserved in Grose, in the second volume of the Dublin Penny Journal, and in Wright's Louthiana. Above St. Bernard's chapel, near the summit of the hill, is a cemetery, now unenclosed and disused, having in its centre the remains of a building of a comparatively recent date, evidently erected since the Reformation, and for the service of the Established Church; the belfry is double arched, and the casings of the doors and windows seem transferred from the elder buildings of the valley. The parish, in which Mellefont is situated, forms, with Tullyallen, a perpetual curacy, comprising a population of 3964 persons.

In 1142, Donogh O'Carrol, prince of Uriel, erected an abbey here for monks of the Cistercian order, with which St. Bernard furnished it from his own abbey of Clairvaux; it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and was one of the earliest of that order in

Ireland. Christian O'Conarchy, its first abbot, was afterwards made Bishop of Lismore. Moore gives a more detailed account of the origin of this establishment. "St. Malachy," he writes, "at the celebrated Abbey of Clairvaux, formed that friendship with the famous St. Bernard, the cordiality of which reflected honour on both, and of which there remains so interesting a memorial in the life of our eminent Bishop, written by St. Bernard. Approving of the system followed at Clairvaux, Malachy had left there some of his companions, to be instructed in the regulations and practice of the establishment, and it was by these Irishmen, on their return to their own country, accompanied by some monks of Clairvaux, that this house was founded"(a). In 1151, Malchus, brother of the first Abbot, appears on records as principal of this house, and in his time, some say, a session of Cardinal Paparo's Synod was held here. In 1157, a more undoubted and scarcely less remarkable assembly of prelates and nobles was held here. Murtoth O'Loughlen, King of Ireland, attended on this occasion, and many of the petty princes, amongst whom are named Tiernan O'Rourke, O'Carroll, &c. while the Pope's Legate, and seventeen Bishops, represented the Irish hierarchy. Amongst the political acts of this body, is recorded their expulsion of Donogh O'Melaghlin, from the kingdom of Meath, and the substitution of his brother over that pro-

(a) Moore's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 190.

vince; while the ecclesiastics more especially effected the foundation and liberal endowment of this noble house, Murtoagh O'Loghlen offering on the occasion one hundred and forty cows, sixty ounces of gold, and a townland near Drogheda, called Finabhuair-Naninghean " to God and the Church for the good of his soul ;" O'Carrol, Prince of Uriel, gave sixty other ounces of gold; and the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke and daughter of O'Melaghlin, that Der-vorgilla, to whose abduction is popularly attributed the English invasion, here, in the pride of beauty and homage of innocence, gave likewise sixty ounces of gold, with a chalice of the same precious metal, for the high altar of the Blessed Virgin, and rich vestments for every other altar that it was intended to erect within the church. In 1168, Prince Donogh, the founder, died, and was interred here; and, in 1177, Charles O'Buacalla, then abbot of this house, was elected Bishop of Emly, where he died within a month after his consecration.

About the year 1182, Henry the Second granted to the abbot and convent of this house a confirmation of their possessions, as appears by an *Inspeximus* of King John, renewing same, and which are therein set forth as the site of the Abbey, the granges of Kulibudi and Ogumgatan, Mell, " Drochetatha," Rathmolan, and Linnavar, Teachlenny, Rosnarigh, Culen, Cnogva, Kalcalma, Tullachnacornary, Callats, and Finnagh, with all their appurtenances. He further confirmed to them Hugh de Lacy's gift of two

carucates of land, named Croch and Infert, and Robert of Flanders' gift of a carucate of land in Crevoda, and about the same time said Hugh de Lacy further granted to this abbey the lands of Ballynashanlah (Ballymacscanlon). In 1189, Rodolph, or Ralph Fletham, Abbot of Furnes, died here^(a), as did Murrough O'Carrol, Prince of Uriel, who was interred beside his relative, the founder. By a canon of 1190, Abbots of the Cistercian establishments in Ireland were licensed to absent themselves for three years, as occasion might require, under the control of the Abbot of Mellefont. In 1193, the aforesaid Dervorgilla, nearly thirty years after her fall, closed her days in penitence in this abbey, in the 85th year of her age. In the same year the relics of St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, were brought from Clairvaux into Ireland, and received with great honour as in other Cistercian monasteries. In 1194, the Abbot Moelisa was promoted to the see of Clogher, and in 1201, Thomas O'Conor, Archbishop of Armagh, died, and was interred here. In 1203, King John granted a new charter to this abbey, confirming to them "of his own fee," the lands of Lisnamagh, the grange of Salt-House, the lands of Leacht Barra, Dumvabar, Eglas-Mocabdes, and Mulchois, which they had in possession before the arrival of the English, the grange of Balcinet-Edugan, containing four carucates; the land of Ibar Tinge,

(a) Chronicon Manniæ.

and that of Incean, which was granted after the arrival of King Henry the Second, together with their free customs and fishery on both sides of the river Boyne. In 1206, Benedict and Gerald, friars of this abbey, were presented to King John, and made a tender to his Majesty of three hundred marks of silver, and three of gold, on behalf of Eugene, Archbishop of Armagh, for restitution of the lands and liberties belonging to that see. In 1211, the Abbot Thomas was a subscribing witness to the charter of confirmation, granted by Eugene, Archbishop of Armagh to the hospital of St. John of Ardee, and in 1219, Cormac O'Torpa, Abbot of this house, was made Bishop of Achonry, from which see he retired hither in 1226, and here in that year died and was interred. In 1220, Nicholas de Verdon, having sued the Abbot of this house for a carucate and a half in Mellefont, which said Abbot held by gift of the king's father, the proceedings of Nicholas were by royal order directed to be suspended, on account of his Majesty having been prevented, by reason of his tender age, from warranting the premises as he ought. In the following year the correction of Mellefont was committed to the Abbot of Clairvaux, soon after which, on the occasion of the war against Hugh de Lacy, the Abbot having given forty marks and 300 cows towards its prosecution, the justiciary received a mandate in 1225 for reimbursing this house on foot thereof. In 1227, Luke Netterville, Archbishop of Armagh, was buried

here, and in the same year Gerald, a monk of this house, was elected Bishop of Dromore. In 1229, the king granted to the Abbot and convent a Tuesday market in their town of Collon, with an exemption from all tolls and customs throughout this kingdom, and in 1238, this house had a further royal confirmation of all that it had acquired from Henry the Second, as before mentioned, and in 1253, another, with a prescribed privilege that they should not be sued concerning their possessions, except before the Chief Justice.

In 1269, David O'Brogan, who had been a monk of this abbey, and afterwards Bishop of Clogher, was interred here. In 1275, the Abbot petitioned the Chapter of the Cistercians, that there might be a commemoration of St. Malachy, St. Patrick, and St. Brigid, in all houses descended from Mellefont. In 1290, the Abbot was summoned to answer Ralph de Picheford, for obstructing him the said Ralph in his rights of husbote and heybote in the woods of Ferney, and for certain intrusions on the said Ralph's freehold of Dowth. In 1300, the Abbot had a letter of credence addressed to him in reference to the expedition against the Scots, for which the king's forces were summoned to Carlisle, and he was required on that occasion to furnish his aid to the Viceroy John Wogan. In the same year he was sued for acquiring sixty acres of land in Collon, contrary to the Statute of Mortmain, when the jury found, that twenty-four acres of the said land amount-

ed to the yearly value of twenty-four shillings. In 1306, the temporalities of this abbey were seised into the king's hands, as well on account of the endless disputes and contests for the succession to the abbacy, as because the possessions of the said house, the advowson and patronage of which belong to the king, have been wasted and aliened away(a). The depredations, committed by the De Verdons on the lands of Mellefont in 1311, are fully detailed in the General History of Drogheda. In 1322, it was ordained that no person whatsoever should be admitted into this abbey, until he had taken an oath that he was of English descent; a chapter of the order, however, in 1323, expressed its "detestation of such damnable division, introduced by the enemy of the human race," and warned all the Cistercian Abbots, and especially those of Ireland, of whom grievous complaints had been made, "that they should remove such walls of separation, and indifferently admit all persons of all nations." In consequence of which King Edward the Second, in 1324, complained to the Pope against this infringement of the law, and in 1325, Nicholas of Lusk, then Abbot here, was not only fined, but, as it would seem, superseded for transgressing the above ordinance, which was some years afterwards yet more enforced in the Acts of the Parliament of Kilkenny. In 1327, Robert Brian, and John D'Arcy, passed their security, that the

(a) *Communia Plac.* 35 Edw. I. in Berm. Turr.

Abbot of Mellefont should appear before the Justices in Eyre, in Drogheda, and produce there Friar Geoffry de Ballybaldrick, Friar Nicholas, lately Abbot of this house, and Friar Luke de Caryg, debtors to the king. In two years afterwards, the Abbot paid into the Exchequer, as Governor and Controller of the Irish Cistercian establishments, a total sum of £41, for the Abbots of Granard, and Hore Abbey near Cashel, and also for Ralph the late Abbot of Newry. In this latter year, 1329, Edward the Third confirmed the possessions of Mellefont with right of free warren in all their Lordships of Collon, Ballymacscanlon, Salons, Culboyg, Grangegeith, Newtown of Monkland, Ballyfeddock, Ferney, Sliebrought, and in their granges of Oldbridge, Staleen, Rosnaree, Knowth, Dowth, Couldboyde, and New Grange, situated in the counties of Meath and Louth respectively, "provided always these lands be not within the boundaries of our forest." In 1333, the Abbot Michael granted to Nicholas Taaffe an annuity of 100 shillings, and two suits of clothes, payable out of the lands of Collon, in consideration that said Nicholas should perform the duties of seneschal of their lordship. In 1348 they had a fresh royal confirmation of their estates in perpetuity, with a renewal of the rights of free warren as before, and a privilege of erecting a prison on any of their lands in the county of Meath, with cognizances of infangthef, outfangthef, waif, and stray, in all their lands and fees; and liberty to erect a gallows, pillory, and tumbrel, in Collon,

with the custody and assay of weights and measures therein. They had also license to acquire twenty librates in the waste lands of the marches, and a burgage holding in the borough of Drogheda, or in the suburbs thereof, for a habitation for themselves and their suite, at the meetings of Parliaments, Great Councils, &c., in said town. In 1351, Friar Reginald, the Abbot of Mellefont, was found guilty of having, contrary to the Statute, and in time of war with France, collected, within two years, of his own money, and from the Abbots of Boyle, Knockmoy, Bectiff, and Cashel, the sum of 664 florins, and of having remitted half thereof to the Abbot and convent of Clairvaux in France. In 1358, the Abbot obtained judgment on his title to three weirs upon the Boyne, at Rosnaree, Knowth, and Staghllyn. In 1366, however, he was indicted at Trim, for erecting an unlawful weir at Oldbridge, on the same river, when the jury found, as fully set out in the foregoing notice of the Boyne, and the Court thereupon ordered the weir to be reduced to a certain breadth and space, and committed the Abbot to gaol. The imprisonment was, however, remitted, on his paying the fine of £10 to Roland de Shalesford, sheriff of the county of Meath; yet, in 1369, his successor, John Terroure was indicted, not only for a similar offence in obstructing the king's right of passage on the Boyne, but also for remitting forty marks to Clairvaux, and for being elected to his dignity without the king's license first obtained. The Abbot, in

his defence to the latter charge, relied, that Mellefont was subject to Clairvaux, and, as it would seem, that his remittance was made when no hostilities existed with France.

In 1373, the Abbot was summoned to attend a Parliament at Dublin, when, on the occasion of a subsidy voted to the Lord Justice William de Windesore, a sum of one hundred shillings was, amongst others, particularly directed to be levied from the Abbot of Mellefont. In 1377, the same Abbot was summoned to attend a Parliament at Tristledermot (Castledermot). It may be here observed, that the superior of this House was not only a recognized Peer of Parliament, but had precedence there of all other abbots in Ireland. In 1380, the king issued his special mandate, that no mere Irishman should be permitted to make his profession in this abbey, and that the Statutes prohibiting such practices should be strictly observed. In the following year, the Abbot was summoned to a Parliament to be held in Dublin, and, at the same period, had another legal adjudication in favour of his rights in Oldbridge, Staghllyn, and Knowth. In 1382, he attended another Parliament in Dublin; and in 1400, had a royal confirmation of the Abbey lands, manors, and liberties. In this patent, which is of record in the Tower of London, all former charters are recited as referred to. In 1402, the king granted his pardon to the Abbot and convent of this house, for their permitting the professions of Irish monks in their esta-

blishment, nevertheless, on their payment of a fine of £50. In 1409, the Abbot obtained license to distrain for certain services, then in arrear to him and issuing out of the lands of Collon, in the occupancy of Walter Hore, as tenant of the fraternity. In 1415, Leynagh Bermingham, William Davison, and John D'Alton, were committed to the custody of the Abbot, to be by him kept as hostages for the allegiance and good behaviour of their respective fathers. In the same year, the Abbot was sued before the Barons of the Exchequer, to account for certain Crown debts, out of the profits of his possessions, when he pleaded the Lord Deputy's acquittance therefore, and was accordingly discharged. In 1424, the Abbot, together with the Archbishop of Armagh, Bartholomew de Verdon, "chivaler," and Nicholas Taaffe, were appointed Justices and conservators of the peace in the county of Louth, with commission of array and other powers. In 1471, it was enacted in Parliament, that all grants, fees, annuities, rent-charges, leases, and offices, made by John, the late Abbot of this house, and his convent, should, from that time, be null and void, excepting, however, all grants made for advice and to Council. By an Act of the same session, reciting, that this fraternity had created divers burgesses in the town of Collon, and given them certain houses and lands in said town, in the name of burgages, on the express condition of constant residence, with an express proviso also, that no alienation of any of said burgages should take place, except to such persons

as would reside ; and further reciting, that said conditions had not been performed ; it was therefore enacted, that the Abbot and convent might, in cases where the covenant or proviso was not observed, re-enter and rebuild, and hold the same, until they were reimbursed for their expenses. About the same time, it was also ordained, that the abbot should be under the king's especial protection for one year, from Michaelmas then next ensuing ; and that no action whatsoever should be maintained against him during that interval. In 1472, at the Parliament of Naas, it was enacted, that the town of Collon, then waste, should be rebuilt by the burgesses thereof within a given time, and, if not then completed, that the Abbot of Mellefont might enter thereon, and possess the same as in his original right. In 1479, on the petition of said Abbot, it was provided by Parliament, that the spiritual jurisdiction, which did formerly belong to this abbey, should be re-assumed, renewed, and confirmed ; and in 1488, the Abbot received the king's pardon for the offences he had done, in being an abettor of the rebellion raised by Lambert Simnel.

At the dissolution, this House is said to have contained one hundred and forty monks, Richard Conter being their abbot, to whom, on the confiscation of their estates, a pension of £40, for the term of his life, was as usual granted. Immediately afterwards, an inquisition was taken as to the extent of those estates, when it was found, that this fraternity

was seised of certain estates and rights at Oldbridge, Sheephouse, Ramolane, Donore, Glasshalyne, Grangeith, Kerderagh, Ballyfaddock, Kennoyth, Kellystone, Cracamothane, Monkton, Rossmore, Gylton, Dromenhalt, Newton of Knockamothan, Radrenagh, Calm, Staneragh, Baleregan near Donore and below the parish of Mellefont, Monamore, the rectory of Balrestone, and the chapels of Grangeith and Knockamothan, parcel of the rectory of Mellefont, all lying in the county of Meath ; and also of certain premises in Drogheda ; while, an inquisition of a subsequent date, ascertained their possessions in Ballymacscanlan, and other places in the county Louth. There is also a Roll of their possessions, as well in Meath as in Louth county, of record in the Vice-Treasurer's office. In 1566, a lease, of the abbey and its extensive possessions in Louth, was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Edward Moore, who then entered Ireland as a soldier of fortune. His son, Sir Gerald, afterwards the first Lord Moore, had a grant in fee of the same, and fixed his residence here, converting the abbey buildings, with additions, into a spacious and defensible mansion. In 1576, Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, resided here for some time, and many of his State Letters are dated hence. In 1601, William Bathe of Athcarne, county Meath, was found seised in fee of sixty acres of land in the townland of Collon, county Louth, held from the Queen, as of the abbey of Mellefont, at a certain annual rent, and being of the annual value of ten

shillings. In the following year, the celebrated Irish chieftain, Tyrone, tendered his submission to the Lord Mountjoy at Mellefont, kneeling before him, and afterwards signing an humble declaration of his allegiance. It was here also, about this time, the same Viceroy received the intelligence of the Queen's death. By inquisition of 1612 it was found, that this abbey was possessed of certain premises at Legan wood; twelve acres of great timber at Killing-wood; Ardagh, twenty acres, being the demesne lands; and the grange and town of Tullyallen, containing twenty-seven messuages, and 218 acres; Mell, two messuages and 100 acres; Ballymear *alias* Ballynemer-ry, two messuages and sixty acres; Sheepgrange (tithe free), eight messuages and 245 acres; Little Grange, four messuages and sixty-two acres; Back-rath, two messuages and sixty-three acres; Cubbage, four messuages and 103A.; Ballygatwran (tithe free), six messuages and 132A.; Salthouse, seven messuages and 238A.; Staleban, eleven messuages and 160A.; Vinspocke, six messuages and 90A.; Morragh (tithe free), eleven messuages and 100A.; Ballypatrick, eight messuages and 120A.; a water-mill and 23A. in Collon, with £6 13s. 4d. annual rent out of said town, and the tithes thereof; Ballymacscanlan (tithe free), a castle and 120A.; Crevagh (tithe free), 60A.; Ballynconnell, 60A.; Killane, 60A.; Ballynkeran, 60A.; eleven other messuages and 140A. in Collon; three salmon weirs and two water mills on the Boyne, together with all the tithes, altarages, works, and cus-

toms, of the tenants of the aforesaid premises, so far as the same are chargeable therewith. Another inquisition, of the following year, finding the estates of Sir Gerald Moore, Viscount Moore of Drogheda, in the manors of Mellefont, Collon, and Ballymacscanlan, more explicitly defines their extent in lands, rectories, advowsons of rectories and vicarages, tithes, &c., of all which possessions, Lord Viscount Moore obtained a confirmatory patent in 1640; but, in the next year, occurred the storming of the castle here, as before related. In 1653, Lord Moore's estates were sequestered; but on the 10th of October it was ordered, that his house at Mellefont, the park with the deer therein, and 300A. of land, in such places next adjoining as he would choose, should be exempted from extents, for the maintenance of himself and his family. The above Sir Gerald Moore was the first of his family ennobled by King James with the title of Baron of Mellefont, the other peers of that monarch's creation having been Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel; Sir Arthur Chichester Baron of Belfast; Brabazon, Baron of Ardee; Boyle, Baron of Youghal; Ridgeway, Baron of Galen; Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven and Baron Orier; Lambert, Baron of Cavan; Hamilton, Baron of Strabane; Blount, Baron Mountjoy; Mac Donnell, Viscount Dunluce; Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt; Preston, Earl of Desmond; Dockwray, Baron of Culmore; Blaney, Baron of Monaghan; Power, Viscount Valentia; and Butler, Viscount Tullagh. Mellefont,

therefore, as the "*caput dignitatis*," continued, for some years afterwards, to be the residence of this so ennobled family, until their ultimate removal to Moore Abbey, near Monasterevan.

A very interesting road leads hence into Drogheda, at the back of the noble demesne of Townley Hall, through the glen, consecrated in Irish History, by its being the avenue of King William's advance to the Boyne, and hence along the banks of that river, beside the obelisk, and in view of the battle field, into Drogheda; there is, however, yet another, the following, locality, at the same side of the Boyne, that should not be excluded from a memoir of the environs of that town.

DOWTH.

This locality, one of the most interesting that could engage the attention of the antiquarian, is situated about midway between Drogheda and Slane, along the northern margin of the Boyne. Immediately after the English invasion, it was the well selected site of one of those castles, which De Lacy caused to be constructed for the defence of the Pale, and, in the military subinfeudation, which stationed the boldest and bravest warriors on the marches, the progenitor of the Viscounts Netterville had from him a grant of the manor of Dowth. Accordingly, in 1307, Nicholas de Netterville appears on record, suing the Prior of Lanthony for the advowson of Dowth; and in 1381, the Royal Escheator having

seized upon a weir here, as in right of the Crown, was ordered to withdraw his seizure, as it was the property of Luke Netterville. The same individual had a confirmatory grant of all his possessions in Dowth in 1409; and in 1430, the proprietor of Dowth, John Netterville, who was also seised of Ballygarth, had a release, by letters patent, of all Crown debts affecting the rents and profits of this manor. At the time of the suppression of the monasteries, the Abbot of Duleek was seised (*inter alia*) of the rectory of Dowth, extending over the denominations of Dowth and Proudfootstown. He, however, only held it vicarially for the Prior of Lanthony in Gloucestershire, to whose house that abbey was a cell. The rectory and tithes were afterwards granted to Sir Gerald Moore; the estates, however, continued in the Netterville family; and in 1812, the sixth Viscount Netterville bequeathed the Castle of Dowth, with the offices, garden, and about sixty surrounding acres, for the support of a charitable institution for poor desolate widows and orphans, with provisions for educating and apprenticing the latter. The old castle has been modernized for their accommodation, and close to it are the thickly ivied remains of the parochial chapel, with the baptismal font in its centre. The area of this structure measures seven yards in breadth, the nave being fourteen yards in length, and the choir ten. Over the place where the altar once stood, and filling the space of the eastern window, is a marble slab, erected by the late

Lord Netterville in memory of his father, the Lord Nicholas, his wife Anne, and their daughter Catherine, "who be interred near;" below this is another small slab, to the Honourable Mrs. Frances Blake, sister of the said Catherine. The two doorways at each side of this river are Saxon arched, while the windows in the gables were pointed.

But the paramount attractions of Dowth are the even yet crowded vestiges of the early Magian, or, as it is by some termed, the Druidical worship, that acquired for Ireland, as has been shown, the title of "the Sacred Island," for centuries before it was the "Isle of Saints;" the fine mounts, magnificent raths, extensive forts, wondrous caves, here, and in its immediate vicinity, all marking it out as an undisturbed, unexplored theatre for antiquarian investigation. A descriptive and accurate account of this mysterious district, from the pen of Governor Pownall, was, so long since as the year 1770, read at the Society of Antiquaries of London, and has been recently republished in Mr. Higgins's admirable work, "The Celtic Druids." Some of its details, with the result of more recent observations, are due to the subject. The approach from Drogheda, immediately where it enters upon Dowth, presents, on the left hand, the imperfect remains of the sanctum or inner circle of a Pagan temple. The stones are large massive trilethons, and some upwards of six feet above the ground. There remain four of these stones set together at short distances, four others at wider intervals of the circle, and three more mutilated and

displaced by the quarrying of the rocky knoll on which the circle stood. The diameter of this circle, in its perfect days, might be about thirty feet. South of this singularly coroneted eminence, is an oval fort, measuring about forty-eight yards by thirty-two. This is but little raised above the surrounding ground, and is spread over sandstone rock, of that porous, and naturally cavernous aspect common to such stone; it had a foss, now nearly choked up. Beyond these, and just before reaching the house of Dowth, is a remarkably fine and perfect fort, the ramparts bold and steep, measuring outside, where perfect, about twenty yards, seven on the top breadth, and fourteen in the inner descent, while the bowl thus enclosed, extends about one hundred and sixty yards. No moat is now traceable as having ever surrounded it. Passing the house, a small mount is discoverable, between the house and the castle; it is at present enclosed by a wet foss. Beyond this is an immense barrow, from the summit of which a vast expanse of the counties of Louth and Meath, and of the windings of the Boyne, is discernible. Openings at its base disclose sections of such an extensive and well-constructed cavern passage, as has been discovered within New Grange, as hereafter particularly mentioned; and a similar barrow, equally near to this, on the lands of Knowth, promises equal gratification to antiquarian research. The barrow at Dowth has been inappropriately disfigured by the erection of a modern temple, now itself in ruins.

Descending hence, in the direction of Slane, a succession of mounts, at left, on the low grounds adjoining the Boyne, leads the visitor to the truly royal monument of

NEW GRANGE.

“As most, if not all the barrows which we know of,” writes Mr. Pownall, “are formed of earth, you will, upon your approach to this, be surprised to find it a pyramid of stone, compiled of pebble or coggle stones, such as are commonly used in paving. The labour of collecting such a prodigious mass of materials, although they had lain near the spot, would have been a work almost inconceivably great; but, what conceptions must we have of the expense of labour, of time, and of the number of hands necessary to such a work, when we understand that these stones must have been brought hither, not less than twelve or fourteen miles, from the sea coast, at the mouth of the Boyne. When I add to all this, that, upon a calculation raised from the most moderate state of its measurements, the solid contents of this stupendous pile amount to one hundred and eighty-nine thousand tons weight of stone, your astonishment must, I think, be raised to the highest pitch. . . . I make the altitude to be about fifty-six feet, from the horizontal line of the floor from the cave, to which adding the segments of the curve of the ground on which it stands, being about fourteen feet more, I make the altitude of the whole about seventy feet. The periphery is curvilinear, not rectilinear, and the base

covers about two acres of ground, while the summit, which is still nearly a circular plain, measures in diameter about forty yards." This prodigious barrow was encircled at the base, with a series of enormous unhewn stones, set upright, of which nine are still in their erect posture, the tenth prostrate ; those, that are standing, measure from seven to nine feet in height above the ground, and, on a rough estimate, may be supposed to weigh from eight to twelve tons each. Three of these stones are within nine yards of each other ; the next distant eighteen yards ; the next, which is a little out of its place, eighteen yards more ; the next, thirty-six ; the next sixty-three ; so as to induce the conclusion, that, in its original state, erect stones occurred at every nine yards, while it is no less probable, that there were yet more intermediate, but the spot has been, in former years, utterly wasted. It served as a stone quarry to the vicinity, and the surrounding roads were paved from this repository. In its heart, is a singular cave and gallery, of which Mr. Pownall gives a very full account, accompanied with plates. The mouth of the gallery, which led into the central cave under the perfect state of the monument, lay concealed and shut up near forty feet within the body of the pile. It is formed by large flat stones ; those which compose its sides are set on edge, and are of different altitudes, from two to seven feet high, and of various breadths, from two to three feet six inches, while the thickness of some of the large ones is from one

foot and a half to two feet. This gallery, the roof of which is formed of long flat stones, laid transversely, extends sixty-two feet in length, and terminates in a dome, which springs at various unequal heights from eight to nine and ten feet, on different sides, forming at first a coving of eight sides. At the height of fifteen or sixteen feet, the north and south side of this coving run to a point, and the coving continues its spring with six sides; the east side coming to a point next, it is reduced to five sides; the west next; and the dome ends, and closes with four sides, not tied with a key stone, but capped with a flat flag-stone of three feet ten inches by three feet five; the construction of this dome is not formed by key stones, whose sides are the radii of a circle, or of an ellipsis converging to a centre; it is combined with great long flat stones, each of the upper stones projecting a little beyond the end of that immediately beneath it; the part projecting, and weight supported by it, bearing so small a proportion to the weight which presses down the part supported; the greater the general weight is which is laid upon such a cove, the firmer it is compacted in all its parts. . . . Upon the whole, this cemetery or kistvaen, is an octagon, with a dome of about twenty feet in height, and of an area, which may be circumscribed within a circle of seventeen feet. From this centre, issue, at the sides of the dome, and at the part opposite where the gallery enters, niches, or, as Mr. Pownall styles them, tabernacles, giving the

whole the exact appearance of a cross, the arms of which extend twenty feet in length. Each of these tabernacles is constructed at its sides of two stones standing erect, while the back is formed by a large flat stone laid edgeways at its length; and each of these recesses is covered with one large flat stone, sloping towards the back. The northern tabernacle has for its floor a long flat stone, six feet eight inches long, by four feet eleven inches broad; the two side niches have no other floor but the natural ground; they have each of them, however, a rock basin placed within them. In the whole work appears no sign of mortar or cement. "In the centre recess, opposite the entrance," writes Miss Beaufort, in her admirable Paper "on Ancient Architecture in Ireland," (published as a Prize Essay in the Royal Irish Academy Transactions, vol. xv.), "is a large flat stone, probably the stone of sacrifice; and from the thick blackness of smoke observable there, and no where else, it has been evidently used, either for that purpose, or for the preservation of the perpetual fire, such as was kept continually burning in their sacred caves by the Brahmins of India, the Magi of Persia, and the Gaurs or Druids of England and Ireland. When New Grange was first opened in 1699, it contained the two rock basins at opposite sides, and in the circular area, a pillar stone, on each side of which lay a human skeleton. There were also found, underneath the pillar stone, two gold coins, one of the Emperor Valentinian, and one of Theodosius,

from which it may be judged, that this cave temple was constructed before the invasion of the Danes, to whom this cairn has been sometimes attributed." There have also been dug up here recently, as communicated by Sir William Somerville to the Author, a massive gold ring, with a paste centre; a slight gold chain of very delicate workmanship; two gold bracelets of a twisted pattern; a very beautiful gold ornament, about two inches in length, but narrow in width, in which was set a paste imitation stone. There were found at the same time, but not precisely in the same part of New Grange, a denarius of Geta, and two brass coins utterly defaced, and coins of Constantine yet more recently, in excavating the entrance of the cave. "This tumulus, it may be observed," to continue in the words of Miss Beaufort, "unites in itself the artificial mount or high place, the sacred funeral cave, the pillar stone (for such, it is said, once stood upon its summit), and the circle of upright stones. The resemblance of this remarkable cairn to the Egyptian pyramids, struck Governor Pownall so forcibly, that he does not hesitate to avow his opinion, that it was constructed for the same purposes; while Mr. Faber observes the likeness it bears to some of the most ancient Indian pagodas, built to resemble a large cavern. In New Grange, he remarks, we have the narrow passage, the central chamber rising into an oviform dome, like that at Canara; the cistern for purification; and the mystic cross, a figure very frequently adopted in the

construction of temples; such multiplied peculiarities serve to show, that the tumulus of New Grange was thrown up, with the very same ideas which prevailed among the Babylonians, Hindoos, and Egyptians." It may be here added, that Strabo, in his Geography (vol. ii. p. 779), describes the outer appearance of a temple of the Sacæ, who inhabited Armenia, &c., in terms that much assimilate it to the edifice under consideration. The Boyne forms in the distance a partial semicircular boundary to the grounds on which this monument stands, and between them are two small barrows.

Adjacent to this, at Knowth, is a very similar mount, which has never yet been explored, but in which, about a century since, was discovered an urn, enclosed in a square stone box, about five feet long, and four broad, made of four rude large flag-stones set together edgeways. The urn itself was one great heavy stone, of an oblong round figure, somewhat of the shape of the upper part of a human skull, but five or six times as large. It was of a sandy greet like freestone, much coarser, however, and harder; its length about sixteen inches, breadth twelve, and height eleven; its cavity shallow, not above five inches deep, rudely hollowed, by cutting out some part of the stone, in which were found loose fragments of burned bones; while the outside was adorned with rude lines and carving. About midway between this and Drogheda, in a place called the hill of Rath, many other urns have been recently dug up. The largest was

about sixteen inches in height, and sixteen in diameter at its greatest girth, of a shape nearly conical, flattened at the apex, and from its greatest diameter, about twelve inches from the apex it gradually lessens to a diameter of fourteen inches. It was formed of yellowish clay, and simply ornamented around the lower border. Under this urn (writes an eye-witness), and resting on the earth, were considerable fragments of human bones, some of which bore evident marks of fire. This, and the minor urns which surrounded it, were discovered about eighteen inches below the present surface of the field, but it appears that a few years since, a stratum of earth, about three feet in thickness, was removed to fill up a quarry hole. That this spot was selected for the purpose of general sepulture is probable, from the fact, that upwards of one hundred urns were unintentionally destroyed by the owner of the land in his agricultural labours, and many more, it is conjectured, remain in this "Potters' field," where much of the line has not yet been disturbed. Several urns similarly constructed have been found in other different parts of Ireland, some of them of different shape, and generally ornamented highly; but these, from their comparative plainness, would seem to be of the highest antiquity. It was intended to have here appended some notices of the use and era of the several monuments, that are alluded to as existing in this mysterious district, the origin of Magism in Ireland, its communication in Druidism to England, and subsequently to Gaul, and the

corruptions and changes that religion underwent in transmission; the project, however, would extend to a length incompatible with the present undertaking, and the Author must, therefore, now only refer to what he has already compiled on the subject in his "Essay on the Ancient History, &c., of Ireland."

The environs of Drogheda, on the southern banks of the Boyne, are not less deeply interesting.

COLPE.

The parish of this name, filling the eastward of this district, claims the earliest observation. It comprises 5785 acres, divided into twelve townlands, viz., Colpe, Mornington, Donnycarney, Betaghstown, Ballymad, Pilton, Stameen, Stagrennan, Newtown, Paynstown, Beamore, and Beabeg. On the first is situated the parochial church, a small edifice, amply sufficient however for the ordinary congregation that resorts to it. It exhibits no mural slabs or monuments, but in the surrounding cemetery are tombs commemorative of the Hamills, Kellys, Hoeys, Magranes, &c., of Drogheda. One to Thomas Bellew, obiit, 1729, another to William Shepherd of Bettystown, died 1830, and an enclosed monument to Francis Brodigan, Esq., formerly of Drogheda, who died in 1831, erected by his son Thomas. "Here also," it adds, "lie the remains of Francis Cheevers, and Jane his wife; grandfather of the aforesaid Francis Brodigan, and son of Jerome Cheevers of Macetown Castle, in this county." [This Jerome Cheevers was

the only brother of Edward Cheevers of Macetown, who married Anne, sister of the gallant Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, and was himself created Viscount Mount Leinster, by James the Second. He was aide de camp to the unfortunate monarch at the Battle of the Boyne. Although specially included in the Articles of Limerick, this devoted loyalist relinquished the benefit of the capitulation, and accompanied his sovereign into exile, where he died without issue. It may be permitted here to add of the illustrious family, from which this individual was descended, that they were at the earliest period of authentic history, lords of Chievres in Hainault, that one of them accompanied the Conqueror to England, and that Sir William Chevre, his descendant, was one of the warriors in the train of Strongbow, from whom he received a knight's fee in Wexford, and became founder of a family traceable in that county down to the aforesaid Viscount]. South of the church of Colpe is a mount, which was erected, according to tradition, over that Colpa, the brother of Heremon the Milesian leader, who, having been drowned in the bay here, gave it the name which was subsequently assigned to the townland, and ultimately to the whole parish.

On its shore St. Patrick made his first successful entry into Ireland; on its shore four centuries afterwards the tyrant Danes effected their earliest ravages in this country; and here, soon after the English invasion, Hugh de Lacy, the Palatine of Meath, founded

a monastery for canons regular of St. Augustin, dedicating it to St. Columb, and making it a cell to the noble priory which his ancestor and namesake had founded at Lanthony in Monmouthshire. The Palatine endowed this establishment with the tithes of Coungerie and Donnycarney, the church of Marinerstown, with the tithes of the fishery; the church of Aney; the church of the valley of Clonalvey; the church of O'Garastown, county of Meath; those of Stamullen, Kilmessan, Kilcooley, Delvin, Killimethe, Kilsharvan, Dunboyne, Rathbeggan, Kilrui, and Drumrath; the church of the village which was Reginald de Turberville's (i.e. Ballymadun); the advowson of the vicarage of Lillen; the land of Ballybin; and the land which Gilbert de Cornwall held in the lordship of Ratoath, with all the chapels and appurtenances of said churches, together with all lands belonging to said ecclesiastical benefices, and the right of patronage of said churches, with their chapels and appurtenances. In 1411, William Tymset, styled Canon of Lanthony, otherwise Canon of the house of St. Columb of Colpe, sued out a royal pardon for any matters in which he might have incurred the royal displeasure. The Abbot of Duleek, where Hugh de Lacy had founded another cell, also made dependent on Lanthony, was, as the Irish representative of that religious house, rector of the church of Colpe, while the right of presentation to the vicarage appertained to the priory of Duleek. In 1536, previous to the general dissolution of monasteries, Colpe,

as one of the dependencies of Duleek, was suppressed, when its prior was found entitled to receive certain measures of corn, called couples, off the several townlands of the parish. An inquisition of the same period finds, that the Priory of Lanthony was seised of (*inter alia*), the tithes of "little and much Stameen," Donnycarney, Marinerstown, Betaghstown, Ballymad, Painstown, Pilton, and Beabeg; the tithes of St. James's, Newtown, Stagrennan, and those of the manor of Colpe, comprising 180 acres, all within the parish of Colpe, and which, subject to certain rights of the Bishop of Meath, vested in the Crown upon the said suppression. In 1558, the grange here, described as comprising eighty acres arable and forty of pasture, with "a great house of stone thereon, and other appurtenances, was, together with two gardens in Marinerstown, demised by Philip and Mary to Henry Draycot. [This individual, who resided at Marinerstown, and was Remembrancer of the Irish Exchequer, obtained an enlarged reversionary patent of the said premises from Queen Elizabeth, and became the founder of a family here. He died in 1572, when a *post mortem* inquisition finds that he was, at the time of his decease, seised in fee of all the tithes in the lands of Marinerstown, Great Beaubeck, Little Beaubeck, and in the fields of the same, parcel of the possessions of the prior of Lanthony, and of all the tithes of the churches and vicarages which were parcels of the monastery of the Virgin Mary of Duleek, and which he had acquired by grant

from Queen Elizabeth]. The great bulk, however, of the estates of Lanthony and of both the religious houses of Duleek, in this parish and its vicinity, was granted by King James to Sir Gerald Moore. In 1639, John Draycot, knight, died seised in tail male, with reversion to the Crown, of the site, &c., of the dissolved monastery of Colpe, and of four messuages and 100 acres in the town of Colpe; and of the town and land of Marinerstown, 120A.; Beaubeck, 340A.; and of all the tithes of the said premises. In 1641, as before related, Lord Moore, in a sally from Drogheda, took the Castle of Colpe. The forfeiting proprietors within this parish, in the immediately subsequent confiscations, were John Bellew, John Draycot, John Bathe, Nicholas Dowdall, John Goulding, Valerian Wellesley, and John Barnewall, all described as "Irish Papists;" of whose estates the Earl of Anglesey, Henry Draycot, Alderman George Peppard, Nathaniel King, and Richard Duffe, became the chief patentees. The abstract of the Down Survey says of this parish: "There stands an old church at Stagrennan, and another in Mornanton, with two good houses, and a corn mill in repair, and the walls of an old church in Colpe, and a habitable castle, and two farm houses. In Great Staheen there is a great stone house in repair, and a corn mill, and in Donnycarney a habitable castle and a farm house." In 1666, Henry Osborne had a grant of (amongst other lands) a portion of Ballymad, in this parish, as well as of a part of Julians-

town. In 1793, the vicarages of Colpe and Kilsharvan were episcopally united, which arrangement was, on the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, subsequently perpetuated. In 1806, the present church was erected, chiefly by the aid of a grant from the late Board of First Fruits, who, in 1811, granted £450 for purchasing a glebe, and lent a further sum towards building a glebe house here. In the Roman Catholic arrangement the parish of Colpe forms part of the Union of St. Mary of Drogheda.

Mornington, more anciently and appropriately called Marinerstown, the second townland of this parish, had a church also dedicated to St. Columb, distinct from that of Colpe, and was formerly accounted a several parish, but has since merged into one benefice, as Colpe *cum* Mornington. The ruins of the old church are close to the shore of the haven, a slab on the side wall marks ground appropriated, in 1794, for the interment of James Brabazon of Mornington, Esq., recorded as allied in the male line to the Earls of Meath, and in the female to the Earls of Mornington. There are also in the little cemetery, tombs to Mrs. Jane Brabazon, of this family, who died in 1815; to the Matthews of Colpe; the Duffs and Hammonds of Drogheda, &c. Beside this ruin is a fine new Roman Catholic chapel, and at a short distance Mornington House, erected on the ancient inheritance of the Wellesley family. So early as the year 1200 this locality is described in records as "Villa Marinarii." In 1301, Nicholas de Geneville

had seisin from the Crown of the manors of Cœmul-
len, Marinerstown, &c. Soon afterwards Richard de
Wesley, knight, having married Johanna, daughter
of Sir Nicholas de Castlemartin, acquired in her
right (*inter alia*) the Lordship of Marinerstown. In
1386, the custody of the manor was, by the king, com-
mitted to Edward Berle, same being, as is recited,
in the Crown, by reason of the death of Simon Cu-
sack, knight and the minority of his heir. In the
following year the king committed to the Abbot of
Furnes, the custody of one messuage, one carucate,
and sixty acres in Marinerstown, which had been
held by his religious house, but had lately accrued
to the Crown, and were in the hands of the Marquess
of Dublin, who disputed the title of the abbey there-
to. In 1398, Geoffry, son of Thomas, son of John
Cusack, knight, conveyed to trustees his manors of
Dengan, Marinerstown, Donnycarney, Culmullen,
&c., which deed was, in 1421, exemplified *on insper-
imus* in Chancery at the request of Thomas Cusack.
Although the manorial rights were in the Cusack
family, two-thirds of the lands of Marinerstown and
Donnycarney belonged to Mortimer Earl of March,
and in the Chancery Rolls is recorded a Crown
grant thereof in 1403, during the minority of Ed-
mund, the son and heir of Roger Earl of March,
with services, wreck of the sea, &c. The manorial
rights passed, by marriages with co-heiresses, to Tho-
mas Fleming of Slane, knight, and Richard Wellesley;
the latter, with his wife Johanna, had, in 1422, par-

don for all intrusions, &c., on the lands of **Marinerstown**, **Donnycarney**, **Pilletstown**, &c., and a confirmation of all their rights therein. On the dissolution the church here was described, as "the Church of St. Columb of Marinerstown, a cure with a salary of £1, Sir John Draycot impropiator;" the tithes of "Wellesley's farm" were at the same time found to appertain to the Abbey of Duleek, while the tithes of the fishery were in 1604 granted by King James to Sir George Carew, Vice Chamberlain to the Queen, as "parcel of the rectory of Colpe, the estate of the late Priory of Lanthony, near Gloucester." A subsequent inquisition of 1624 finds, that "Gerald Weslie, late of Dangan, Irish Papist, died in 1603, seised in his demesne, as of fee, of the manor of Dangan, and of the manor of Marinerstown *alias* Mornanton, containing two messuages and 120A., and of a capital fishery, commonly called the lord's Fishery." In 1721, Draycot Talbot mortgaged 200A. of Mornington, and 80A. of Colpe, with all the tithes, great and small, to William Colville; he subsequently sold same to — Walker, who assigned to Francis Leigh of Drogheda. At the extremity of this townland, on the beach at the mouth of the Boyne, is an ancient tower, called the Maiden tower, from having been erected in the time of Elizabeth(a). It is about sixty feet in height, in

(a) A charter of her Majesty, granting certain tolls and customs to the corporation of Dublin, in aid of erecting at Poolbeg a tower, similar to that recently built at the entrance of the harbour of Drogheda, at once establishes the era and use of the latter edifice. See also of this curious structure, *ante*, p. 366.

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Fig. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Fig. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

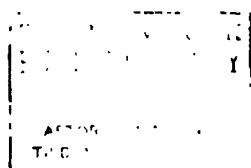
form about three yards square, and so narrow within, as only to admit a flight of 55 steps to the top terrace, which is battlemented, and commands a most extensive look out over sea and land, the whole expanse of the former from Mourne to Bray Head, and of the latter far into the counties of Meath and Louth. It has no windows, and is only lit through loopholes at different aspects. It stands upon oak piles, and beside it is a smaller obelisk, or solid round tower, about fifteen feet in circumference, and forty in height, based upon a square pediment, and tapering cone-like to its summit. These two objects, it is said, when brought in a line from the offing, marked (as the harbour formerly opened itself) the precise angle necessary to make, in order to strike the entrance over the bar into Drogheda. Mornington, it but remains to add, gives titles of Earl and Baron to the Wellesley family.

Donnycarney, the third townland stated in this parish of Colpe, still exhibits the gable of "the habitable castle," alluded to in the Down Survey, in the shadow of which a smith has established his forge. A National School founded here gives education to 74 boys, and 23 girls. Betaghstown, now called Bettystown, is remarkable for its fine strand, comfortable hotel, and commodious bathing lodges. This townland of Colpe parish was, in 1611, granted by King James to Robert Barnewall of Dunboe, as 160A. to hold in fee, at the annual rent of £5 6s. 6d. Its rectorial tithes subsequently vested in Graves

Chamney, and were by him sold to Francis Burton.

Pilton, i. e. Pilot's-town, deriving its name, like many localities in England, and some in Ireland similarly situated, from its having been an advanced station for pilots, in the navigation of the mouth and creek of the Boyne, was, in records of the fourteenth century, and long afterwards, styled with an *alias*, "English Colpe." On the suppression of certain monastic establishments in the time of Henry the Eighth, under the Act of Absentees, it became a manor of Gerald Wellesley, progenitor of the illustrious house of Wellesley. The proprietorship of this townland was afterwards acquired by a family of the name of Duff, on a marriage with the heiress of which line, it passed, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, to Edmund Malone, a relative of the celebrated Prime Serjeant, and himself an eminent lawyer. It is at present, with other portions of the parish, the estate of Thomas Brodigan, Esq., whose strikingly beautiful mansion stands in the centre of the townland, within a park of 200 statute acres, that for scenic effect and skilful cultivation, presents, in the view from the Dublin and Drogheda Railway, an ornamental and gratifying foreground. The house, of which the annexed engraving gives a more intelligible conception than could any verbal details, is of a compound architecture, presenting a pleasing combination of the Italian with the Grecian style, in which the lightness of the latter prevails.





Of the remaining townlands of this parish, Bea-more and Beabeg alone seem to require any particular notice. At the former was anciently a preceptory dependent on the priory of Kilmainham. On the dissolution, the tithes of this farm were granted to Henry Draycot, from whose family they passed to that of Talbot, and were, in 1723, sold by Draycot Talbot to Thomas Pearson, who bequeathed them, with the dwelling-house and demesne, town and lands of Beamore, to his niece Hester, Countess of Charleville. Its gardens, of the Dutch style, were long admired. Beabeg was, before the English invasion, denominated Killokeran, by which name, Walter de Lacy, in the time of King John, granted it to the church of St. Mary and St. Laurence of Beaubec in Normandy, together with the liberty of keeping a boat on the Boyne, toll free, a grant which Henry the Third afterwards confirmed, to be held in free and perpetual alms. It was thereupon constituted a manor, designated as Beaubec, with a dependent cell or church. In 1332, the Abbot of Beaubec obtained a license from Edward the Third, to assign his rights here, with a fishery, and certain chief rents out of Marinerstown and Drogheda, to the Abbot of Furnes in Lancashire, which transfer was subsequently effected, and the king's Escheator was directed to deliver possession accordingly; and many ensuing royal confirmations are recorded. On the earlier monastic confiscations in Ireland, King Henry the Eighth granted "Great and Little Beaubec," with

courts leet and view of frank pledge therein, to Sir John Draycot, whose descendants continued to inherit same until the Revolution.

South of the parish of Colpe, lies that of

JULIANSTOWN,

containing the townlands of Julianstown, Damans-town, Rogerstown, Ninch, Leytown, Ministown, and Smithstown, comprising in the total, according to the Trigonometrical Survey, 3065A., and a total population, according to the recent census, of 816 persons. There are a parish church and a chapel adjacent to it, in the village of Julianstown. In 1380, Thomas Tuite, Knight, was seised of premises here, which, on his decease, passed to his son and heir John Tuite. The rectory and tithes of the parish were, at this time, appropriated to the Priory of the Blessed Virgin of Duleek, and, soon after the suppression of that house, were granted to Sir Gerald Moore. In 1635, Peter Barnewall was seised of a castle and 80A. here. In the civil war of 1641, a victory was obtained here by the insurgents, which considerably promoted their cause, and so increased the number of their adherents, that they not only felt confident of reducing Drogheda, but even meditated marching with their united forces to invest the capital. The Abstract to the Down Survey of this parish describes it, as "meared with the Nanny water, over which there is a fair bridge called Julians-town bridge, on which river there stands a corn-mill

belonging to Smithstown. In Smithstown there stands a fair stone house, in repair, and another in Rogerstown; in Julianstown, an old church and two farm-houses; and in all the other townlands store of cabins." The river Nanny, which empties itself into the sea through this parish, takes its rise near Navan, and, running in an easterly direction, shapes its course through the romantic glen of the Diamond-rock, whence, entering the beautiful demesne of Sir William Somerville, it there expands itself into a fine sheet of water, proceeds at foot of the old church of Tymole, and by the castle of Athcarne to Duleek, thence, at foot of the hill of Bellewstown, by Mount-Hanover and Cooper-hill and under Dardistown castle, whence it flows into Kilsharvan by the extensive bleach-green of Mr. Armstrong, winding gracefully hence through this parish, under the turnpike and railway bridges, by Ninch and the handsome demesne of Colonel Pepper, it falls into the sea at the now obscure village of Leytown, but which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was a place of great commercial importance.

Washed by the same river, the parish of

KILSHARVAN

next presents itself, lying westward of Julianstown. It contains 2096A. in the townlands of Kilsharvan, Shallon, Crofty, Balloghan, Calliaghtown, Gaffney, Andgor, New Haggard, and Balgeene. Limestone abounds in this district; and on the Nanny, near the

ruins of the old parochial church, are the extensive bleach works of Mr. Armstrong. The church, here alluded to, was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and still exhibits extensive remains solemnly embowered in trees ; the aisle and choir, divided by a fine semi-circular arch, are distinctly traced, the former measuring fifty feet by eighteen, the latter thirty-three feet by sixteen ; the entrances are by circular arches ; the side windows are square, deeply recessed, with mullions and tracery, and having a bold projecting label moulding. Within this are monuments to the Tonges of Shallon, from 1765; to Elinor, daughter of Richard Aylmer, and wife of John Harford, Esq. of New Haggard, obiit 1741, &c. ; while in the surrounding graveyard, are sundry tombstones commemorating Macans of Drogheda, Mac Granes of Julianstown, &c. At Mount-Hanover, in this parish, a National School gives instruction to 111 boys and 66 girls.—Balloghan is celebrated for a holy well dedicated to St. Columb ; in a niche over it is a statue representing a monk, with a canon's cap, and a girdle round his waist.—Crofty, another townland herein, is a scene of considerable historic interest. On the breaking out of the civil war of 1641, Lord Gormanston, who took an active interest in the proceedings, caused the resident noblemen and gentry of the county Meath to assemble on this hill. The Lords Fingal, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimleston, and Netterville, with upwards of 1000 of the leading gentry, responded to his summons, and here,

according to a preconcerted arrangement, they were met by Roger Moore, and others of the leaders of the Ulster movement, attended by a detachment of their forces. The representatives of Meath advanced, and Lord Gormanston, with great solemnity, demanded for what purpose they had entered the Pale in arms; Moore replied, that they had taken up arms for maintenance of the king's prerogative, and to make the subjects of Ireland as free as those of England. He was again required to declare, whether these were the real motives, without any private or sinister views, when, on his earnest asseveration of sincerity, Gormanston and his party declared, that they would unite with them for such purposes, and prosecute all those as enemies, who would refuse to assist their righteous cause. The interview was closed by the appointment of another meeting, to be held on the hill of Tara(*a*). The rectory of Kilsharvan was, from a very early period, appropriated to the Priory of the Blessed Virgin of Duleek. The Abstract to the Down Survey of this parish says: "There is in Kilcarvan a ruined church; in Shallon, a castle and house in repair; in Crofty, another farm-house; in Balloghan, another, and a remarkable well called St. Columb's well; in New Haggard, another house; and in Balgeene, a few cabins. The Nanny river flows through the South side of it, over which there is a bridge called Dar-

(*a*) Leland's Hist. Ireland, vol. iii. p. 153.

distown bridge." By this Survey it appears, that the chief forfeiting proprietors within this parish were William Stokes, William Plunkett, Edward Jans, Bartholomew Moore, Simon Barnewall, George Talbot, and Robert Allen, all described as "Irish Papists." The chief patentees of their estates were the Earl of Anglesey, and Alderman George Peppard.

DULEEK

Succeeds in the circuit, but its records are of such extensive historic interest, that only an epitome would be here justifiable. Of such antiquity and importance, indeed, was this town considered, that it gave name, in its immediate precincts, to a parish called Duleek-Abbey parish, in a much wider range to Duleek parish, and in a considerably larger scope to the barony in which it is situated, one so extensive as to be subdivided into Upper and Lower Duleek, as partitioned by the River Nanny. It also gave title of Baron to the family of Bellew, and returned two members to the Irish Parliament. In the village are several objects of interest, a spacious church, a very handsome Roman Catholic chapel, "erected by the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Kearney in 1812;" a fine Sessions house, an extensive flour and corn mill, and above all, the magnificent ruins of the Priory of the Blessed Virgin, situated near the church, and the now scanty remains of the earlier abbey of St. Cienan. The area of the former beautiful ruin extends 100 feet in length by twenty-one in breadth,

finely terminating at the western extremity in a square castellated belfry, luxuriantly clothed with ivy.

Under the east window is inscribed, "This window was made by Sir John Bellewe, knight, and Dame Ismay Nugnt, his wife, in the yeare of our Lord 1587;" the armorials of both families are given, with the initials of husband and wife. Near it is a monument, stating that it was erected by Dame Mary Bermingham, to commemorate her husband, John Lord Bellew, who was shot in the belly at Aghrim. "As soon as he found himself able to undertake a journey, he went to his lady in London, where he died, 12th January, 1692. He was laid in a vault in St. Martin's till the April following, when the body was brought hither for interment." Near this is a tombstone carved with a figure and crozier, in alto relievo, commemorative of some now unknown prelate. A slab inserted in the inner wall denotes the burial place of Laurence Taaffe, who died in 1709; of Stephen Taaffe, who died 15th August, 1730, and his three successive wives, viz., 1st. Alice Plunkett, one of the daughters of Lord Louth, who died in 1707; 2nd. The Honorable Mabella Barnewall, one of the daughters of Henry Lord Viscount Kingsland, by the Lady Dowager of Louth, who died in 1711; and 3rd. Bridget Burke, one of the daughters of Sir John Burke, Baronet, who died in 1716, &c. &c. There is also in the grave yard the upper section of an old stone cross. In the low ground

within a demesne, the property of the Earl of Thomond, is the castellated gateway that once led into the Abbey of St. Mary. The park, in which it stands, is meared by the Nanny, over which here is a narrow and very ancient bridge, having, encased in the battlement, a flag, stating that, "this bridge and the causeway were repaired and builded by William Bathe of Athcarne, Justice, and Genet Dowdall, his wife, in the year 1587, whose souls God take in his mercy. Amen!" An old moat, which once stood in Duleek, has been almost totally carried away for agricultural uses.

This place derived its name Damh-liac (i. e. the house of stone) from the church which St. Cienan founded here, on the earliest introduction of Christianity in Ireland. He was baptized by St. Patrick in 450, by him appointed Abbot over this house, and endowed with the Apostle's copy of the Gospels. This was for ensuing ages the seat of a rural bishopric, until, on the ecclesiastical arrangements of the twelfth century, it merged in that of Meath. During the days of Danish tyranny it was frequently burned and plundered. After the victory obtained at Clontarf over that people by Brian Boroimhe, the corpse of the fallen victor, and that of his son Murogh, their funeral solemnities of the first night having been celebrated at Swords, were carried to the abbey here, whence, on the third day, they were conveyed to that of Louth. In 1106, Donald, Archbishop of Armagh, died here. In 1169, the abbey

suffered considerably by fire, and in two years afterwards was plundered by Milo de Cogan and his forces. In 1182, Hugh de Lacy built the cell here, before alluded to. In 1284, Theobald de Verdon, being possessed of the manor of Duleek, obtained a grant for a weekly market and an annual fair here. In the fifteenth century the Lordship of Duleek was vested in the Fleming family, at which time a charter was granted to the town. The unfortunate Archbishop Allen was seised of certain houses and lands in Duleek, which became a subject of bequest in his will of 1505. By the Act of Absentees (28 Hen. VIII. c. 3), the Priory of Duleek, as appertaining to that of Lanthony in Gloucestershire, was suppressed, and confiscated to the Crown, with all its manors, tithes, churches, chapels, advowsons, parsonages, &c., which were subsequently granted to Sir Gerald Moore, while Sir John Draycot passed patent for the possession of the Abbey. On the morning before the battle of the Boyne, King James heard mass and a sermon in St. Mary's church here, and, after that fatal day, retreated over the commons of this town, and by the ancient bridge above alluded to, having been sorely harassed in his march by the Duke of Schomberg, until King William checked the pursuit, as fully detailed *ante*, in the General History, and encamped himself on those commons, where traces of his entrenchments are yet visible. Within the parish of Duleek, are two objects of architectural and historic interest, that should not be

overlooked, Athcarne and Platten. The former, however, being without the line that we have necessarily circumscribed for the Environs, permits it only to be said here, that it stands on the margin of the picturesquely winding Nanny, is a noble specimen of the architecture of the Elizabethan age, erected, as it then was, by a member of the De Bathe family, has been tastefully modernized by the present proprietor, Mr. Gernon, and, with the venerable air of antiquity carefully preserved without, exhibits all the comforts and luxuries of domestic indulgence within.

PLATTEN,

Now the seat of Mr. Reeves, is built upon the site of the ancient castle erected here in the time of Edward the Third, by Sir John D'Arcy, who came to Ireland in 1329, as Lord Justice for the King here, and became the founder of that historic family in this country. His grandson, Sir John D'Arcy of Platten, was constituted Sheriff of Meath during the royal pleasure. His heir male in the fourth degree of lineal descent, Sir William D'Arcy of Platten, was the sturdy individual, who distinguished himself by carrying Lambert Simnel on his back through Dublin, after he had been crowned in the cathedral of Christ Church, for which offence he was obliged to do homage and fealty to Sir Richard Edgecombe in 1488. This individual, in 1506, obtained the then necessary royal license for the enjoyment of his estates of Platten, &c., in the form of

a pardon of intrusion, directed to him, with the following numerous *aliases*, " William D'Arcy, late of Platten, Esq.; otherwise William D'Arcy, late Sheriff of Meath; otherwise William D'Arcy, knight, late Receiver-General of all the king's revenue in the counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin, Kildare, and Drogheda; otherwise William D'Arcy, Knight, Deputy Treasurer to Gerald, son and heir of the Earl of Kildare, Treasurer of Ireland; otherwise William D'Arcy of Platten, Knight; otherwise William D'Arcy of Rathwyre, Knight." This fine seat, on the forfeitures of 1690, was confiscated, by the attainder of Nicholas D'Arcy, then its lord, on whose death, without issue, the line of this noble house became extinct in the elder branch, but was continued through a junior grandson of the above Sir William D'Arcy of Dunmow, to the present heir male of the house, Mr. John D'Arcy of Hyde-Park, in the Co. Westmeath. Platten, however, passed by a fresh patent and mesne assignments into the Graham family, by one of whom the present edifice was erected; the hall, the pavement, the broad flight of stairs, the gallery, the pillars on which it rests, the drawing-room, the oaken parlour, are all beautiful specimens of architectural taste. The original structure was three stories high, but the upper was taken off by Mr. Reeves. Near it are the unroofed walls of the little chapel, which had been the burial place of the first proprietors of Platten; within it are, a holy water font, a stone carved with the crucifixion, and two projecting stone resters, one at each side of the altar.

Close to Platten is the locality of

DONORE,

the last, but certainly not the least interesting noticed in this section of the history. The parish has a population of 1489 persons, and contains, on the recent Trigonometrical Survey, 3661A. 3R. 38P., in six townlands, Donore, Oldbridge, Sheephouse, Rathmullen, Stalleen, and Cruise-rath. On that of Donore, is a village of cleanly whitewashed cottages, a National School, which gives instruction to 110 boys and 58 girls, a new chapel of rectangular form, long but narrow, and without galleries, of sufficient area, however, for its present congregation; but the scene of greatest attraction here, is the old graveyard and church. The former is small, and thickly filled with undistinguished tombstones; the walls of the latter scarcely traceable above the human clay that has been gathered round them since the Reformation; one solitary tombstone, erected soon after that event, usurps the place of the altar, recording, that "Here lieth the bodie of John Genet of Oldbridge in this tomb, who departed this life, 1609."

"All people that on earth draw breath,
In health prepare for the hour of death,
The poor, the world, the heaven, the grave,
His alms, his praise, his soul and body have."

If the calculation of the date 1609 be, as it seemed on the closest scrutiny, correct, this stone

suggests very singularly interesting associations. From that graveyard, the ill-fated Stuart, as has been before related, witnessed the vicissitudes of a day, which his own folly accelerated. From the ruins of this church (for the position of the tombstone proves that it was then in ruins), the already more than half dethroned monarch distinguished, at a too prudent distance, every evolution of that day, when the destinies of his race, and of three kingdoms, were decided. He could see the glen, down which his royal rival led his veterans on the preceding day, the hill on which was struck the first accidental blow, that, before the battle began, had nearly achieved the victory, the river, successively the scene of Caillemotte's and Schomberg's and Walker's last enthusiastic moments, where their fidelity was consummated with their hearts' blood; the batteries, whence the cannon of both armies responded their royal but deadly interchange. The huge gray rock was below him, that was yet to commemorate, in sculptured obelisk, the dethronement and exile of his line; and, possibly, he sat (where the visitor may still sit and ruminate) upon that cheerless monument, the lettered stone whose writing needed no interpreter, the rough mortuary that had displaced the altar of his faith, the mocking throne, too aptly suited for a subverted sovereign.

Beyond the scope of these environs, yet within the circle of a few miles, the visitor of Drogheda will find many scenes of historic, picturesque, and

architectural interest, well worthy of his attention, but unavoidably excluded from this more circumscribed sketch. Of these may be particularized, Dunany, Castle-Bellingham, Rokeby Hall, Barmeath the noble seat of Sir Patrick Bellew, Oriel Temple, Collon, Slane, Duleek, Somerville, the seat of the truly liberal member for this town, Athcarne, Gormanston, and Ballygarth. The two latter, however, demand their individual notices in the Railway Memoir prefixed to this work.

In closing this history of one important district of Ireland, Drogheda and its Environs; in endeavouring to illustrate scenes of frequent political excitement and national importance, that have been enacted there, however abjured are the labours and researches of Irish literature by the wealthier class of authors, however unapproachable to those who require remuneration for their honest industry, however un auspicious even for the zealous few, amongst whom the author of this work would rank himself, who could afford to be contented with but indemnity for outlay, he yet feels satisfaction in thinking, that he has thus far, and with his earlier works, contributed to the dispassionate, yet uncompromising development of his country's annals. The history of that country has been too long consigned to impolitic oblivion; its records, its archives, its state papers, its manuscripts, are jealously withheld from even those who would sacrifice much to advance the literary character of the country, at a time, when its national aspect becomes more momentous, and its resources

and scenery more the subject of inquiry and personal investigation.

The writer of these volumes having, for many years, devoted time and income to this national object, has compiled upwards of one hundred volumes of manuscript collections, illustrative of Irish localities and pedigrees, the records and histories of counties, cities, and corporate towns, the achievements and honours of families, the rights of lay and ecclesiastical patronage, of manors and royalties; he has actually heretofore, to a great extent, digested the materials for histories of the counties of Antrim, Louth, Wexford, and Wicklow, of portions of those of Meath and Tipperary, of the course of the Shannon, &c., but, failing to interest adequate local encouragement, they are reluctantly withheld from the public, and will all possibly perish with him. The truly splendid encouragement, which induced the present undertaking, has been alluded to in the preface, and it is now a pleasing duty to announce, that under the liberal auspices of a single nobleman, who has allocated £200 towards the publication, the author has undertaken to edit that interesting portion of the early history of Ireland, which, having been drawn up by the monks of the noble abbey of Boyle, was styled "the Annals of Boyle;" the original is preserved in the British Museum, and of this a translation shall be given in the text, the chasms of the chronicle being supplied from other sources, and the numerous names of persons and places, that occur in the *Annals*, illustrated by notes, topogra-

phical and genealogical. To the whole are to be prefixed, the statistics and records of the singularly picturesque barony of Boyle (county of Roscommon), of whose scenery it is intended to give at least fifteen highly finished engravings, the price to subscribers being £1.

To that nobleman, and to those who have confidently honoured this work with their names as individual subscribers, the Author has but to express a hope, that if they shall be satisfied with its execution, they will cheer him with an early assurance of their continuing co-operation, in such similar productions as he may be induced to undertake. If there be any who would expect or desire to see in this, or any other of the Author's works, a comment, that could dissociate the hearts of British subjects, feed a prejudice or flatter a party, it is unequivocally avowed, that, however gratifying or remunerative their patronage might, under other circumstances, be, it cannot be purchased by a surrender of principles, which have become unalterable rules of action. A candid retrospect upon the unhappy errors and feuds that have so long divided Ireland, the jealousies that have checked its advance in the march of nations, and the misgovernment that has recoiled, with retarding influence, on its rulers, may, on the one hand, happily facilitate their correction and abandonment, while on the other, details of honourable achievements and devoted loyalty in past times, should be the best incentives to national pride and unreserved allegiance in future.

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